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The American Guild

By J. M. Butler

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THE AMERICAN GUILD

The next step in popular government.
A twentieth century solution of
the trust problem.

By THOMAS M. BUTLER.

PRICE 15 CENTS.



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P R E F A C E

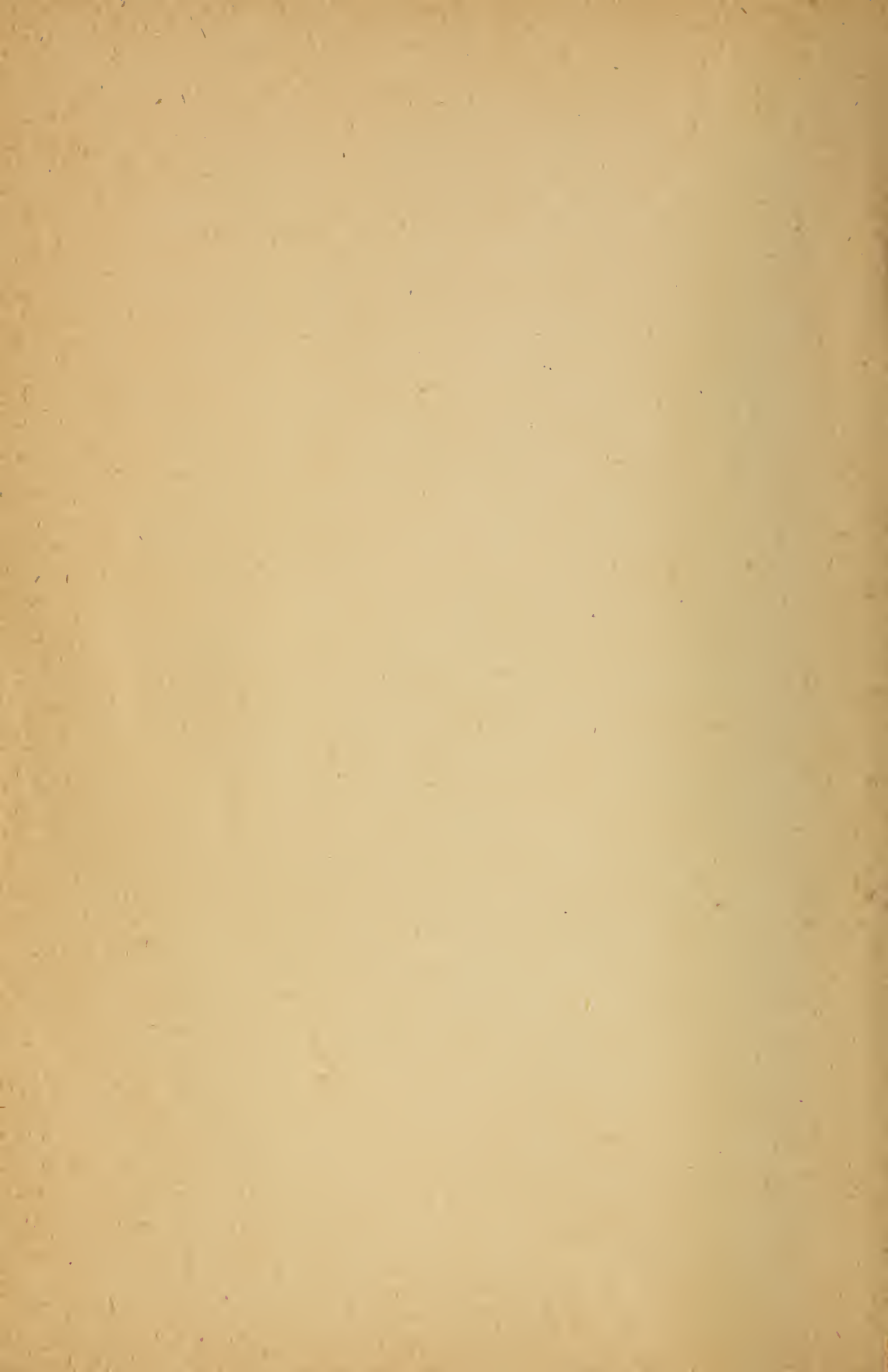


IN THIS book, the author seeks to explain what effects the amendment proposed herein will, if adopted, have on the various matters. Preceding and following the body of the book are statistical tables and other documents, for convenient reference by the reader.

No doubt many defects will be found in the style and texture of the garment in which the ideas are presented. The author is a working man and lays no claim to literary excellence. For these deficiencies we beg indulgence, and hope that the central motive of the book — the desire to modestly serve the American Republic and help to make it the model for the world — will be slight compensation for the book's shortcomings, and worthy the attention of the reader and the labor of

THE AUTHOR.

Chicago, Dec. 26, 1903.



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MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

[From tables prepared by O. P. Austin, chief of bureau of statistics, treasury department, Washington.]

AREA, POPULATION, INDUSTRY.	1890.	1900.	1902.
*Area.....sq. m.	3,025,600	3,025 600	3,025,600
Population.....	62,622,250	76,303,387	79,003,000
Population per square mile.....	20.70	25 22	26.11
Wealth.....dols.	65,037,091,000	94,300,000,000	.....
Wealth per capita.....dols.	1,038.57	1,235.86	.....
Public debt, less cash in treasury.....dols.	890,784,370.53	1,107,711,257.89	969,457,241.04
Debt per capita, less cash in treasury.....dols.	14.22	14.52	12.27
Interest-bearing debt.....dols.	725,313,110	1,023,478,860	931,070,340
Annual interest charge.....dols.	29,417,603	33,545,130	27,542,945
Gold coined.....dols.	20,467,183	99,272,943	.....
Silver coined.....dols.	39,202,908	36,295,321	.....
Gold in circulation.....dols.	374,258,923	610,806,472	629,271,532
Gold certificates in circulation.....dols.	130,830,859	200,733,019	307,110,929
Silver in circulation.....dols.	110,311,336	142,050,334	151,436,658
Silver certificates in circulation.....dols.	297,556,238	408,465,574	446,650,243
U. S. notes (greenbacks) outstanding.....dols.	346,681,016	346,681,016	346,681,016
National bank notes outstanding (October 31).....dols.	179,449,958	331,580,183	1356,672,091
Circulation of money.....dols.	1,429,251,270	2,055,150,998	2,246,529,412
Circulation per capita.....dols.	22 82	26.93	28 40
National banks, January 1.....No.	3,351	3,606	4,337
National banks, capital.....dols.	623,791,865	608,588,045	670,164,195
Bank clearings, New York....dols.	37,660,686,572	51,964,588,564	.....
Bank clearings, total U. S.....dols.	58,845,279,505	84,582,450,081	.....
Deposits in national banks.....dols.	1,485,095,856	2,623,997,522	3,111,690,196
Deposits in saving banks.....dols.	1,524,844,506	2,449,547,885	.....
Depositors in savings banks....No.	4,258,893	6,107,083	.....
Farms and farm property, value.....dols.	16,082,267,689	20,514,001,838	.....
Farm products, value.....dols.	2,460,107,454	3,764,177,706	.....
Manufactories.....No.	355,415	512,734	.....
Manufactures in U. S., value.....dols.	9,372,437,283	13,039,279,566	.....
Receipts—Net ordinary.....dols.	403,080,983	567,240,852	562,478,233
Customs.....dols.	229,668,585	233,164,871	254,444,708
Internal revenue.....dols.	142,606,706	295,327,927	271,880,122
Expenditures—Net ordinary...dols.	261,637,203	447,553,458	442,101,559
War.....dols.	44,582,838	134,774,768	112,272,216
Navy.....dols.	22,006,206	55,953,078	67,803,128
Pensions.....dols.	106,936,855	140,877,316	138,488,560
Interest on public debt.....dols.	36,099,284	40,160,333	29,108,045
Imports of merchandise.....dols.	789,310,409	849,941,184	903,327,071
Imports per capita.....dols.	12 35	10 88	11.43
Exports of merchandise.....dols.	857,828,684	1,394,483,082	1,381,719,401
Exports per capita.....dols.	13 50	17.96	17 49
Imports of silks, raw.....lbs.	7,347,909	13,043,714	14,230,708
Rubber, crude.....lbs.	33,842,374	49,377,138	50,413,481
Tin plates.....lbs.	680,060,925	147,963,804	198,996,086
Iron, steel and manufactures of.....dols.	41,679,591	20,478,728	27,180,255
Exports—Iron, steel and manufactures of.....dols.	25,542,208	121,913,548	98,552,562
Agricultural products.....dols.	629,820,808	835,858,123	851,460 312
Manufactures.....dols.	151,102,376	433,851,756	403,890,763
Farm animals, value.....dols.	2,418,766,028	2,981,054,115	.....
Cattle.....No.	52,801,907	67,804,022	.....
Horses.....No.	14,213,837	18,266,140	.....
Sheep.....No.	44,336,072	61,605,811	.....
Mules.....No.	2,331,027	3,366,721	.....
Swine.....No.	51,602,780	62,876,108	.....

MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—Cont'd.

AREA, POPULATION, INDUSTRY.	1890.	1900.	1902.
Production of gold .....dols.	32,845,000	79,171,000	†80,218,800
Silver .....dols.	70,465,000	74,533,495	†77,128,120
Coal .....tons	140,866,931	240,965,917	†261,677,961
Petroleum.....gals.	1,924,552,224	2,661,233,568	†2,914,346,148
Pig iron.....tons	9,202,703	13,789,242	†15,878,354
Steel.....tons	4,277,071	10,188,329	†13,473,595
Tin plate .....lbs.	.....	677,969,600	.....
Copper .....tons	115,966	270,588	†266,716
Wool .....lbs.	276,000,000	288,636,621	†302,502,328
Wheat .....bu.	399,262,000	522,229,505	†748,460,218
Corn .....bu.	1,489,970,000	2,105,102,516	†1,522,519,891
Cotton .....bales	7,311,322	9,436,416	†10,383,422
Sugar.....tons	136,503	149,229	188,665
Sugar consumed.....tons	1,476,377	2,219,847	.....
Cotton taken by mills .....bales	2,325,000	3,644,000	.....
Cotton exported .....lbs.	2,471,799,853	3,100,583,188	3,500,778,763
Railways in operation.....miles	166,654	194,321	201,839
Passengers carried.....No.	520,439,082	584,695,935	607,278,121
Freight carried 1 mile.....tons	79,192,985,125	141,162,109,413	147,077,136,040
Passenger cars .....No.	21,664	26,786	35,969
Freight cars.....No.	1,099,205	1,358,467	1,464,328
American vessels built.....tons	294,122	393,790	†483,489
In foreign trade .....tons	946,695	826,694	†889,129
In domestic trade .....tons	3,477,802	4,338,145	†4,635,089
On great lakes.....tons	1,063,063	1,565,587	†1,706,294
Vessels through "Soo" canal...	.....	.....	.....
..... tonnage	8,454,435	22,315,834	†24,626,976
Commercial failures .....No.	10,907	10,774	†11,002
Liabilities .....dols.	189,856,964	138,495,673	†113,092,376
Postoffices.....No.	62,401	76,688	†76,945
Postoffice receipts.....dols.	60,882,097	102,354,579	†111,631,193
Telegraphic messages sent.....No.	55,878,762	63,167,783	†83,555,122
Newspapers and periodicals published.....No.	16,948	20,806	21,708
Public school salaries.....dols.	91,836,484	136,031,838	.....
Patents issued.....No.	26,292	26,499	†27,373
Immigrants.....No.	455,302	448,572	648,743

*Exclusive of Alaska and islands belonging to the United States.

†In 1901.

‡July 1.

WEALTH AND WHO OWNS IT

POPULATION

9— This line represents 9 per cent. of the population—the *Rich*.

39— This represents 39 per cent. of the population—the *Middle Class*.

52— This represents 52 per cent. of the population—the *Producers*.

100

WEALTH

—71 This represents Wealth (71 per cent.) owned by first class—the *rich*.

—26 This represents Wealth (26 per cent.) owned by middle class.

—3 This represents Wealth (3 per cent.) owned by the *Producers*.

100

AUTHORITY, UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—1890.

The **American Guild**

INTRODUCTORY

That society should control industry and trade with the object of promoting the welfare of its members is indisputable. Therefore it is natural that, in the presence of the evils of centralization of industrial power in few hands and the corresponding dependence of the masses, we should consider whether, and how, society may lessen or remedy these evils.

There are many plans of reform suggested, along various and diverse lines, from the extreme of socialism, in which the state is sole proprietor and director, to the opposite extreme of the "laissez-faire," or let-alone, competitive school. Each of these has numerous supporters and an extensive literature, and is worthy of serious consideration; the author, however, differs from each of them on some essential point of principle or policy, and takes this opportunity to offer the Guild plan of industrial salvation.

Most of our citizens realize the necessity for a change, but are skeptical as to the feasibility of the various remedies advanced, and because of this the evils are permitted to continue, in the hope that in some way, at some time, things will right themselves. But, alas! history shows that rarely have evils righted themselves, and in most cases revolution and bloodshed were the means through which "reforms," generally more or less illusory, were made effective.

In considering plans for reform, it does not appear necessary that we demand entirely new and untried schemes, possibly fraught with peril to our stability or

progress. It may, perhaps, be more profitable to consider how the political and industrial forms in present use may be improved in such manner as discreet radicalism will suggest, to the end that we shall surely progress in the future.

It is not advisable to destroy the rowboat because the steamship has been invented, nor the cart because the railroad has been constructed, nor the small industry because the trust has been formed. The rowboat has its uses still, likewise the cart and the small industry. So, in industrial philosophy, although competition is productive of many evils when it is allowed full sway, and is gradually being replaced by devices that check or destroy it, it may have its necessary uses and should be considered in our industrial order. So, likewise, the opposite extreme, monopoly, while it is productive of many injustices when unrestrained, may be made useful when guided into proper channels. The evil in the one may be neutralized by the good in the other.

Since none of the doctrinaire industrial philosophies satisfies the exactions of the majority of citizens, may they not find in all what they fail to find in one? May not "eclecticism" be introduced into industrial economy, as in medicine or any other branch of human knowledge?

And inasmuch as evils do not, generally speaking, right themselves except through violence, and then frequently at a cost that beggars the contestants, should not "common-sense" impel men to get together and, if necessary, compromise, rather than permit evils to culminate in class wars and revolutions?

The American Guild is presented as a plan which enables advocates of the divergent classes and schools to combine, without serious compromise of their respective interests or doctrines. The single-taxer will find in the Guilds democratic control of national utilities and natural monopolies, while permitting competition and individual initiative, where they are advisable; the socialist will find in the democratic base on which the Guilds rest a sure foundation for such general control as will be deemed necessary; the advocate of reasonable competition will find it adapted to humane uses; the farmer, the miner, the mechanic, the shopkeeper, the members of the professions will find secur-

ity and protection; and the capitalist will find just compensation for his property when it is converted to public use.

To say that government is autocratic, or aristocratic, or plutocratic, or democratic, is to say that the feudal power is in control of that class. Lapses from any one of these forms are more apparent than real, as is exemplified in the present day in the United States, where, under the name of democracy, plutocratic feudalism prevails.

Just as mediaeval (autocratic or aristocratic) feudalism has been almost destroyed by the economic changes which have produced plutocratic feudalism, so is the latter (which lacks the beneficent features of its predecessor, and because of this is more open to attack) withering before the spread of education and the onslaught of modern criticism.

The Hon. Henry B. Brown, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, addressing the Yale Law School, said:

"If no student can light his lamp without paying tribute to one company; if no housekeeper can buy a pound of meat or of sugar without swelling the receipts of two or three all-pervading trusts, what is to prevent the entire productive industry becoming ultimately absorbed by a hundred gigantic corporations?"

The legal aspect of plutocratic feudalism is expressed in the above quotation. What its social and moral aspects are may be summed up in these words of the late Pope Leo XIII:

"There can be no question whatever about it, that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and so unjustly, even at this moment, on the vast majority of the working classes. * * * The custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, have brought about a condition of things by means of which a small number of very rich men have been enabled to lay upon the masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself."

Pope Leo speaks of world-conditions; Judge Brown speaks of conditions in the United States, where be-

cause of the newness of the country, and sparseness of population, the majority of citizens are not as hard pressed as are the peoples in older lands; but if the legal status of industry referred to by Judge Brown exists in the United States; the "misery and wretchedness" referred to by Pope Leo are sure to follow, naturally.

Many other eminent authorities might be quoted to show how the present order is being attacked, but the mass of the people are so largely conversant with them that it is unnecessary to quote further. The persistency and vehemence with which plutocratic feudalism is being assailed must lead to radical changes in the not remote future.

Whether plutocratic feudalism shall peacefully merge into another form, or shall depart in scenes similar to the French Revolution, is to be determined only by a knowledge of the future psychological as well as of the present economical influences.

But if, as economists believe, the form of government expresses the industrial and intellectual status of its constituents, it will, in the future, in the United States, be democratic feudalism, of such form and function as will permit of the greatest freedom compatible with the greatest security and practicability.

An appreciation of this tendency is being formed in the minds of the masses, and is crystallized in the following inquiry:

If all the essential features of mediaeval feudalism are developed in modern industry, and power is centralized in few hands, but without compensating duties, is it not better for the nation that this centralized power should be administered democratically, rather than autocratically?*

*Quotations from an essay by Professor Oscar L. Triggs, of the University of Chicago:

1. An industrial order is now being established which corresponds in all essential respects with what is known in political history as feudalism.

2. The political order, so far as it is shaped by the same individuals who control industry, partakes also of the nature of feudalism; hence the recrudescence in the United States of the principles of Hamilton and the dominance of the Republican party.

3. When the feudalistic tendency culminates into the establishment of a centralized control of industries, then *the conscious and deliberate appropriation of that power by the people will begin, till work becomes free and the worker self-directive.*

4. Biology and psychology testify to the ultimate triumph of the principle of self-activity. In other words, *all the forces of national evolution are on the side of the people.*

Believing that the above question will be answered in the affirmative, and that democratic feudalism will prevail, and that—as is argued in subsequent pages—it will be in a form that will recognize the good, the practical, features of the several industrial systems—not the strictly competitive nor the strictly socialistic, but a judicious combination of all—the author feels that, in this book, he is describing, in a more or less crude and disjointed way, at least a practicable if not the most probable next step in popular government—the American Guild.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

1. *Labor*—Man lives by labor and, therefore, possesses the natural right to labor; a denial of the right to labor is a denial of the right to live.

2. *Liberty*—Liberty is to be unrestrained in the right to labor, and to enjoy the fruits of that labor; to freedom of speech and action; always with due regard to the equal rights of others.

3. *Government*—The chief function of government is to protect the members of society to their right to Liberty; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of this end “it is the duty of the people (society) to alter or to abolish it and to institute new governments, organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

4. *Capital*—Capital is a creation of labor, and the sole justification of its creation and conservation is as an instrument of labor; therefore labor is to be considered before capital, and any reversal of this order is unnatural and destructive.*

*(From Record-Herald, Dec. 10, 1903.)

“The only thing that deserves financial reward is labor. Capital, as such, deserves none. The political economists’ long standing theory concerning the productivity of capital has been the basis for an unlimited number of fallacies in social thinking and adjusting. The only just basis of reward is production. Capital is only a machine that helps labor in producing. The present legal right that capital enjoys is all wrong. Capital has this legal right simply because our statutes give the right. There is nothing morally right about it.”

Such are some of the conclusions reached by Dr. Albion W. Small, head professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, who, in a talk before the seniors at chapel yesterday, made deductions that were accepted as extremely radical.

Professor Small said further:

“The payment of a reward to capital is not an individual right. The capitalist does not get a reward because he has a right to it,

Each person has a natural right to life and liberty, measured by the corresponding rights of others. The "measurer" is government. "Life and liberty" involve industrial and personal relations; government, therefore, controls these.

Power and property belong, in the last analysis, to the nation, the people,—or, as English law expresses it, to the crown, representing the people. This feudalistic base belongs, in fact, to all forms of civilized government, although it is obscured at present. Destroy the sanction of government to titles to property, or to rational personal relations, and anarchy will ensue; the strong will overwhelm the weak; brute force will be supreme.

Government, then, has the right—and it experiences the necessity—of conducting or regulating industry. Where a particular system is permitted, it is because society, through government, believes that it operates

but because society considers it a social convenience. Reward for labor is a personal right and not a contract right. Not until this principle is accepted will there be a just basis for reward. The idle capitalist is not a producer, no matter what the receipts on his bonds amount to. This money is only a means to an end. Money will buy mills to help labor, but it is not the mill that produces—it is the labor.

"At the present society is willing to let the owners of capital, like those who inherit it, loaf around. These loafers may be put into two classes, viz., those that do not work at all, but live on the interest of their money, and those that do some work to advance their enterprises bought by inherited wealth. The time will come when the idlers will get no reward and the semi-idlers will only get reward for what they do. The public will rule that the only incomes that are just are wages earned or salaries of public officials.

"New laws, based on moral rights, should determine property privileges. This would establish a property right for labor, just as capital has a legal right today. There is nothing right in the law that permits an enormous amount of capital to be organized into a corporation, then to be protected by legal rights, which, when they are applied to an individual, can be called nothing but moral rights, or the common right to work for a living.

"There is no equality where one man with a million of inherited capital can determine the weal of a thousand of his fellow men. The personal element must control and not the money's worth.

"The non-producer should not be entitled to one cent. Every man who does work should be entitled to what he earns. If his wage is a moderate one and his ability to produce enormous it is not just to say that his wage shall be determined by the man with the capital back of him instead of his real personal worth. So long as capital determines the wage it will be an unjust wage.

"This is not a socialistic theory, for I believe in individual worth and that the individual should be rewarded to the extent of his ability to produce. The sort of justice that gives the same income to a man who never works as to the laborer who toils for his wages is a very questionable sort of justice.

"Our ideas concerning the distribution of wealth must be revised or we must regulate the power and the worth of this wealth. Ability to produce and not the ability to consume must become the real test of merit, legally as well as morally.

"First must come a radical change in our ideas concerning property rights, then the other will speedily follow."

for the greatest good. Tariffs, licenses, charters, or permits, are common in almost all countries, in almost all businesses, and are a logical exercise of governmental power.

These main propositions—individual right, measured by government sovereignty exercised in equity—are uncontrovertible. To deny them is to deny the need for government.

Holding, as we do, that democracy is impossible save through application of these principles, and that their opposites are class rule, plutocracy and tyranny, with all their demoralizing and debasing effects on the bodies, minds and morals of the masses, we unqualifiedly assert that if "Americanism" means anything it means that this government, to be truly American, must be carried on in such manner as will permit practical application of these general principles.

That it is not carried on in accordance with these principles is apparent to every student of existing conditions. Labor, instead of being the master, is the servant—aye, the bondman, the vassal—that is only tolerated on the condition that it shall retreat to obscure places; while capital, the instrument, inert, without life, incapable of creation or maintenance save through the potentiality of labor, fills the high places, enunciates industrial creeds with a view to its continued dominance, blasphemes liberty and perverts natural law.

This is so notorious that it is a matter of common comment. In spite of bribed lawmakers, purchased journalists and criminal electoral methods—all the effects of a common cause—the masses of the people are aware that, like the genii released from the bottle, in the "Arabian Nights," an overwhelming black shade obscures the governmental sky.

Into every nook and corner of the land reaches the hand of criminal monopoly, pilfering the pockets of the farmer, the miner, the mechanic, the professional man, the young and the old, the widow and the orphan, and appropriating not only the accumulations of the past and present generations, but capitalizing the possibilities and necessities of our successors.

The people are aware of and denounce the evil combinations which oppress them, but seem powerless to protect themselves. This is due, first, to the system

consequent on our plan of federated, autonomous states, and the lack of grasp by the ordinary citizen of the workings of the federal power, thus permitting manipulators to control the machinery of our state and national governments; and, secondly, because of the failure of political reformers to advance propositions which appeal to the masses as feasible when applied to our industrial and political forms.

Thus we drift on, year after year, the only forces that seem to possess any potency or permanency being those that are predatory and in violation of the genuine American spirit.

(See Appendix, "Governor La Follette.")

The right to life implies the right to labor, as a free-man, subject to conditions that shall assure the same right to all. To say, with the Declaration of Independence, that men are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and at the same time legalize conditions which act as a denial of those rights, is a mockery, and an aspersion not only on the intelligence of the Fathers who advanced it but on the patriotism of their descendants who countenance the deception.

To be available, any plan of general reform must possess these attributes:

1. It must be of such a nature as will appear to be practicable, industrially, to the average voter.
2. It must be presented in forms with which the majority are familiar in their usual political conceptions and activities.
3. It must appeal to a sufficiently large majority of the people to overcome the inertness and prejudices of the legislative and judicial powers.

The object of this book is to present a plan, based on this conception of natural rights and popular government, that will harmonize with the spirit and form of American institutions. The Federal Constitution is the rock on which our national and state governments rest. It is the center and focus of all our legal enactments. Its object is to maintain peace, order, unity, protection, liberty, natural rights. The dutiful citizen will respect its requirements; if these are inadequate, or burdensome, they may be amended.

The Guild amendment is offered in this spirit, and is exactly what it appears to be—a plan to extend the

power of Congress, so as to permit it to delegate to certain chartered organizations exclusive right to carry on industries democratically, by and for the people, rather than autocratically, as at present, by and for private monopolists and trusts.

We propose that the farmers shall control their farms and products; that the railroaders shall control the properties they operate; that the miners shall control the mines they exploit; that the builders shall control the industries they conduct; that the fishermen and the mariners shall control the enterprises they carry on; that the various branches of service shall control their means of livelihood; that the professional classes shall control their respective lines of talent and usefulness—each in a manner that shall permit of the greatest equity and practicability—and all of them bound in a way that shall assure the greatest reciprocity, mutual good-will and protection, re-enforced by provisions for profitable employment during health, and competency in old age.

In doing this we comply with constitutional procedure, with accepted ideas of just compensation for property, with the teachings of advanced political science and with the necessities of modern industry.

If the Guild amendment is adopted, the Executives, Senates, Houses of Representatives, Courts and other branches of the National, State and Municipal governments will remain as at present; also the laws, except where they will be modified or become defunct through the law authorizing the Guilds. This will operate only in the industrial sphere, as it is not contemplated to interfere with national or local regulations or tariffs, sumptuary laws, suffrage, personal relations of citizens, etc.

Guilds, in feudal days, were chartered associations of persons engaged in various trades or professions, and the word is used here because it is familiar to the public and expresses fairly well the form of corporation proposed.

The Guilds are called American because they are, generally, restricted to the United States, and, also, because good citizenship, like charity, begins at home.

THE GUILD AMENDMENT.

The powers vested in Congress are described in Article I., Section viii, of the Constitution. As it will be argued that Congress has not, at present, power to grant exclusive rights to the Guilds, we have prepared an amendment—Article XVI.—giving Congress the necessary power. Possibly, it is not definite enough to suit all minds, but it is subject to alteration at the suggestion of well-wishers. The intention is more to present to the mind of the reader an outline of the pre-proposed amendment than to show its ultimate form.

There are nine Guilds provided for, with provision for additional Guilds, if necessary. The Guilds are:

1. Agricultural Guild.
2. Manufacturing Guild.
3. Transportation Guild.
4. Building Guild.
5. Mining Guild.
6. Marine Guild.
7. Service Guild.
8. Professional Guild.
9. Traders' Guild.

There are, in the amendment, other sections, providing for regulation of conditions of labor, issuance of asset currency, and creation of pension and employment bureaus.

The Guild amendment follows:

Proposed Amendment to the United States Constitution.

(For present Constitution see Appendix.)

ARTICLE XVI.

SECTION I. Congress shall have power to organize into Guilds the various trades, professions, or pursuits, and to grant to each Guild, respectively, sole and exclusive control of all the matters designated in its charter, which shall include: Conditions of employment; wages; power to rent, lease, license, operate, control, purchase, condemn, or own, any or all of the things necessary to carry out the provisions of this Article XVI., subject to regulation by Congress; *provided*, that whenever any property is secured through condemnation proceedings and bonds are issued in lieu of cash money, the deferred payments represented

by such bonds shall bear interest at the rate of not less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per centum per annum, and the principal shall be payable in not to exceed thirty years; and provided further, that the interest on such deferred payments shall be the first charge, and the sinking fund for the acquirement of the principal sum shall be the second charge, against the property so bonded.

SEC. 2. Congress shall, within two years after the adoption of this article XVI. organize Guilds according to each of the following general classifications or groupings:

Group A.—Agricultural Guild—All forms of animal or food production; irrigation; forestry; canning, packing, etc.; excepting fish and fisheries.

Group B.—Manufacturing Guild—All forms of manufacturing not granted to another Guild.

Group C.—Transportation Guild—All modes and means of transporting or sending freight, passengers or messages, not granted to another Guild.

Group D.—Mining Guild—All forms of mining, smelting or refining of minerals, mineral earths or oils, not granted to another Guild.

Group E.—Building Guild—All forms of planning, erecting, repairing or demolishing buildings or other construction; water, gas, electrical and other lighting works; sewerage, paving, etc.; and other works necessary to such industries; when not granted to another Guild.

Group F.—Marine Guild—All forms of fishing, and canning or preserving the products of fisheries; transportation of freight and passengers, etc., by water.

Group G.—Service Guild—All forms of domestic or personal service, not included in another Guild.

Group H.—Professional Guild—Lawyers, doctors, artists, musicians, actors, educators, clergymen, authors, etc.

Group I.—Traders' Guild—Middlemen, agents, etc., when not included in another Guild.

SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to transfer any industry from the control of any Guild to the control of another Guild, or may retain in its exclusive control, directly or indirectly, or otherwise, any industry or any group, except authors and religious teachers.

SEC. 4. Congress shall at all times have power to regulate: The minimum rate of wages; the maximum

hours of employment, for or in any given period; maximum prices of the products or of the services of any Guild; appoint experts to supervise and direct the receipts and disbursements and funds of the Guilds.

SEC. 5. Congress may authorize the treasury of the United States to issue to any Guild currency to the volume of not to exceed one-fifth of the net value of the assets of the respective Guild, charging for the use of the currency not to exceed one per centum per annum, and prescribing the manner in which such currency shall be used.

SEC. 6. Congress shall establish a system of pensions for aged or dependent citizens.

SEC. 6. Congress shall establish and maintain employment bureaus for citizens, and shall have power to regulate immigration of aliens to that end.

SEC. 8. Anything in the constitution which interferes with the operation of this article XVI. is hereby declared to be inoperative in those respects.

Sec. 9. The provisions of this Article shall be in force one year after its adoption.

PLAN AND SCOPE OF THE GUILDS.

Each Guild will be an incorporated company, with original and exclusive jurisdiction in the line or lines allotted to it, subject to Congress.

It will be composed of all those engaged in the businesses subject to it. There will be no individual stockholders; properties owned by the Guild will belong to the Guild as a whole, and each member will be entitled to vote according to the regulations established by or for the Guild.

It may acquire property by purchase, lease, or otherwise, with right of condemnation by power of eminent domain; and may directly or indirectly, by license, permit, royalty, or otherwise, as it deems best, operate or control any business, or any part of any business, subject to it.

It will have national and district branches, headquarters, officers, and bureaus, or boards, governed by such laws as it ordains.

It will collect statistics, fix prices, borrow or loan money, issue bonds, and do anything or everything that it may deem best for its interests—always, however, subject to Congress.

It will be a monopoly—that is one of the reasons for its creation—but will not be necessarily bound to govern in a rigid, arbitrary way, but may permit a large measure of latitude to its components, as the nature of a business will justify, and will not be held down by precedent or cut-and-dried programme.

The various powers or duties of a Guild are not specifically mentioned in the amendment, as it is not necessary, the extraordinary powers given to it and to Congress permitting of their definition after the adoption of the amendment.

When a Guild has been chartered by Congress it proceeds to organize, under the direction of auditors appointed by the President of the United States. Take, for example, the Transportation Guild: Every adult worker will be eligible to representation. It may *license* a railroad company to continue operation under private management, as theretofore, subject to regulations; or it may condemn and *purchase* it by a bond issue, principal due in, say, twenty to thirty years, at not less than, say, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, except where less is agreed upon; or it may *build* railroads and issue bonds thereon. Where a railroad is purchased, the capitalists will get the bonds, but when new railroads are built or old bonds reissued they should be sold to owners of small amounts of capital in preference to owners of large amounts, so as to lead to a more general distribution of wealth. These bonds will be as good as Government bonds, as the Government will finance them—protect their issue, the property on which they are based, the interest paid on them, and the sinking fund from which the principal is to come.

Other features of the Guilds in respect to these and other questions are referred to hereafter under various headings.

THE GUILDS DESCRIBED.

1—Agricultural Guild.

This will include the various kinds of employing and employed farmers, stockmen, etc., and packers and canners of their products. This Guild may be permitted discretionary powers in hours of labor, but should respect the minimum wage rate.

It has the first right of purchase of the products of its members (the great staples should be controlled directly), but may permit modification of this right so as to give "truck" farmers, chicken raisers, dairies, etc., necessary freedom in reaching local consumers. All farming and grazing lands of the Federal Government should be transferred to the Guild. The sums of money received from sales or leases of these lands will be considerable and may be applied to the operating expenses.

Comparatively small amounts of money will be needed by this Guild. Its bonds or the asset currency issued to it will be available for the purchase of elevators, packing houses, creameries, etc. The individual farmer will retain title to his land, as at present, and land may be bought and sold subject to such restriction as the Guild or Congress will impose. It is not the purpose of the Guild plan to affect private ownership of farming land. Therefore, the Guild will require only enough money as will finance its purchase of warehouses, etc.

To the farmer residing upon his land, it is to him an open book. He studies it, he plans to develop it and make it profitable, thereby adding to the quantity or quality of food necessary to himself and workers in other industries. Therefore, a direct personal interest is a vital factor in successful farming; and as statistics show that the farmer's income from his land is not large—averaging \$500 a year—the public has no particular interest in purchasing his land when his acreage does not exceed a reasonable limit.

When the Guild is instituted, the income of the farmer ought to approximate—which it does not at present—to the wages of the higher-priced mechanic. The Guild will buy his product, store, pack or can it, and market it; loan him money on his crops at low rates of interest, and act for his interest generally.

The Guild, through its statistical bureau, will fix prices and pay the farmer according to what he sells to it, subtracting only enough to maintain the Guild's utilities. It will take the place of the present army of middlemen and speculators who, in conjunction with transportation companies, exact every penny possible from the farmer.

After the needs of the nation have been met, the remainder of the products, being in the control of the Guild, will become a formidable lever in the markets of the world.

The Guild will be a democratic institution, wherein every member has a voice, and will be composed not only of those who own and till land, but also of employes of farmers; and it will not permit concentration of land in few hands, but will insist upon such subdivision as will be beneficial to its members and to the nation. However, if the Guild should fail in this respect, which is most unlikely, Congress will have ample power to apply a remedy.

The farmer will, in addition to the fair rates received for his products, also gain by the probably lower prices for goods produced by the Guilds.

The stockman, the fruit grower and other specialists will share corresponding benefits in the buying, packing, handling, transporting and selling of their products.

The Guild will be in harmonious communication with the Transportation Guild and will secure uniform and convenient service.

Through its boards and experts, the Guild will be able to furnish to the farmers such information as will enable them to increase or reduce their acreage planted to various crops, thus giving stability to production and permitting uniform prices.

2—Manufacturing Guild.

This Guild will operate in manufacturing, as determined by Congress. It will have general powers and may carry on its business in the manner it deems best.

Generally, it will be necessary that it shall directly operate only the chief lines—those that have, in private hands, because of their immensity, a tendency to

become monopolies—and may permit small manufactories to operate by license, or on royalty, under the necessary regulations. There are probably hundreds of small industries that may be licensed and left to themselves, limited in their number, as their tendency is not to become monopolies, and healthy competition will keep their prices down to reasonable figures. But all forms of manufacturing will be subject to the Guild, whether carried on directly or indirectly by it, or on license. Fees and royalties will go, of course, into the Guild treasury, as they will in the other Guilds, and will be considered as factors in determining the prices of products.

According to the Bureau of Statistics, in 1902 the value of the products of the manufactories was over thirteen billions of dollars, as against six and three-quarter billions for the products of the farms, including live stock, etc. No one seriously believes that this thirteen billions represents as much actual proportionate value as does the six and three-quarter billions from the farms. The products of the American farmers are sold in competition with the products of the farmers of the whole world, whereas the products of the manufactories are protected by patents, tariffs, control of sources of raw material and trust combinations.

To illustrate this attention is called to the following table, taken from Census Bulletin No. 150, page 3, embracing all the manufacturing industries in the United States:

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Wages paid.....	\$ 236,000,000	\$ 378,000,000	\$ 775,000,000	\$ 947,000,000	\$1,891,000,000	\$ 2,330,000,000
Salary of officers.....	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	391,000,000	404,000,000
Miscellaneous expenses.....	70,000,000	131,000,000	280,000,000	350,000,000	631,000,000	1,028,000,000
Cost of material	555,000,000	1,031,000,000	2,488,000,000	3,300,000,000	5,162,000,000	7,360,000,000
Total expenses	\$ 861,000,000	\$1,540,000,000	\$3,543,000,000	\$4,597,000,000	\$8,075,000,000	\$11,122,000,000
Value of product.....	1,019,000,000	1,885,000,000	4,232,000,000	5,369,000,000	6,372,000,000	13,041,000,000
Net profit.....	\$ 158,000,000	\$ 345,000,000	\$ 689,000,000	\$ 872,000,000	\$1,297,000,000	\$ 1,918,000,000

(1) Included in wage fund.

For the single year 1850 the net profit of the factories was \$158,000,000. If this rate of profit continued for the ten years of the decade ending 1859, we find it to aggregate \$1,558,000,000.

In the year 1860 the net profit was \$345,000,000, or for the ten years following \$3,450,000,000.

Put in tabular form, the table would appear as follows, assuming that each year showed the same increase in net profits. (In fact, there was a greater increase with each new year, just as each decade shows a greater profit than the previous census year) :

For the ten years ending 1859.....	\$ 1,580,000,000
For the ten years ending 1869.....	3 450,000,000
For the ten years ending 1879.....	6,890,000,000
For the ten years ending 1889.....	8,720,000,000
For the ten years ending 1899.....	12.970 000,000
For the four years ending 1903 (estimated)	7,672,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$41,182,000,000

The total of over \$41,000,000,000 represents the net profit, after all expenses, including wages, superintendency, cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses had been met. Of this amount about nine billions is represented in capital stock at the end of fifty years.

Much of this nine billions is water. But counting it all as an actual investment, it is evident, according to the figures by the Government, that the manufacturers absorbed over \$32,000,000,000 in addition to equipping the factories.

Should we add to the latter years of each decade profits at the normal rate of increase as shown by succeeding census years, \$50,000,000,000 would probably more clearly represent the amount.

In short, in 1850 the total capital stock in manufacturing enterprises in this country was about \$500,000,000. This has grown to over \$9,000,000,000 in 1900 and at the same time netted the stockholders over \$30,000,000,000.

The extortion of the speculators who now generally control the vast industrial combinations are the greatest known, or possible, to history. In addition to this, the factories, the railroads, the mines, and other industries, are used as a basis for speculation and manipulation to draw out and absorb the capital of the small investor, who is then, by various devices, divested of

his rights therein, and the ill-gotten proceeds go to swell the treasuries of foreign aristocracies or domestic enemies of popular government.

The farming class—the largest in the country—is mulcted on every hand by these manipulators, who control railroads, packing houses, refineries, elevators and every other chief utility or means which will aid in artificially depressing the value of products.

The factory worker, too, suffers. Subject to competition by immigrant and surplus domestic labor, and prevented by legal devices from effective combination to control the price of his labor, he is insecure in his work and in his property, subject to every industrial or financial tremor, natural or artificial, by the act of Providence or the schemes of the financiers, and finally, because of accidents, age or infirmities, is turned out, like an old horse, to fatten on the stony pastures of vagrancy.

By the Manufacturing Guild permitting the carrying on of the smaller industries on a healthy, restricting, competitive plan, by license or on royalty, and acquiring the larger industries by the use of bonds, the amount of actual capital needed will be comparatively small; this fact will be found to apply in all the Guilds and is a most important feature, particularly when compared with some current Utopian schemes which propose to confiscate property by tax or by forcible means.

3—Transportation Guild.

This will be an exclusive corporation in railroads, etc. (If Congress so orders telegraph, telephones, etc., may be retained by the Federal Government.) The Guild, in its sphere, will have equal power and freedom of action as any other Guild, and the capital necessary to finance it is subject to the same general comment that has been applied to other Guilds.

Apart from the interest of the worker, the welfare of the general public will be better safe-guarded by national or Guild control of transportation. The Fathers of the Republic never dreamed that the nation would permit the arteries of its commerce to be dominated except by the Government. The fact that they retained control of postoffices and post roads proves this. Even if the Guild system shall not be adopted,

the nation will be forced to subject railroads to public control. Something must be done in this direction.

A great deal of the present railroad capitalization is "water." The Guild may squeeze out so much of this that a bond issue of reasonable size will acquire the roads.

Dr. Spahr says ("Statistics of Railways, 1890," page 58) regarding railroad stock watering:

"It should be observed, however, that the sum upon which the public is paying interest is not the total capitalization of the roads, but rather the sum upon which 5 per cent is realized by the roads. This sum in 1890 was \$6,627,000,000. * * * *Two thousand and odd millions of railroad capital, representing no investment, is simply capitalized extortion.*"

In other words, about one-third is "water."

Dr. Spahr continues:

"But not even the fruits of the extortion have gone to the original investors. The expenditures of railroads and the dividends they declare have been so largely in the hands of loosely controlled directors that railroad construction, railroad purchase and railroad speculation have all served as means to divert the property of the stockholders on the outside into the pockets of the managers on the inside. Nearly all the profits of this extortion have passed into the hands of a comparatively few men intrusted with the management of the public highways."

4—Building Guild.

This, as its name implies, will be a corporation of general powers in building, etc. It will include masons, bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, janitors, sewer builders, pavers, electricians, laborers, etc., engaged in building operations of various kinds. It may build, acquire and operate, directly or otherwise, gas and electric lighting works, water works, buildings, etc.; bond, own, rent, lease, license, etc., the same as may any other Guild.

The railroads being in control of a Guild, towns, cities and other improvements can be made permanent fixtures, and the Building Guild may draw plans accordingly. Our future urban and suburban homes may be made places of beauty, and without paying tribute to any speculative element. New buildings will

be largely the property of the Guild, although the individual citizen will be at liberty to design and have built for himself, at his own expense, a home according to the sanitary and artistic order demanded by the Guild or the municipality. The home of the individual will remain his property so long as the greater public need shall not demand it, and then the Guild will pay him the equitable price established by the courts.

It is not private ownership of the home, nor of the farm, nor of the shop, that prevents the economic independence of the masses; but if they should prove so, or if greater happiness shall be secured to humanity by public acquirement of them, then the Guilds, or Congress, will have power to acquire them.

Handsome and convenient residences and business buildings, with well-kept streets and other utilities, such as lights, water, telephones, etc., laid out and maintained in economy and harmony, will be assured by the Guild. The "slums" will be spoken of as an institution of the "dark ages" preceding the institution of the Guilds.

Whenever municipalities desire to acquire or retain possession and operation of public utilities, the Guild, being the superior industrial body, will probably grant the privilege, if it shall be for the public convenience. Buildings and works occupied by other Guilds may, of course, be owned by them.

5—Mining Guild.

This Guild will control the production of coals, metals, mineral oils and earths, smelters, refineries, etc., and will exercise all powers necessary to its business. All the mineral lands in the possession of the Federal Government should be transferred to the Guild. Mines and wells may be operated directly, or on royalty, or otherwise, but the Guild should insist on all products being handled by it. The Government may assert the right of option to purchase the more precious minerals, to protect its domestic or international coinage.

The fact that any Guild may insist that industrial products subject to it shall be sold to it, has great bearing, as by it alone, if no other force existed, all mere speculative features of industrial production and distribution can be eliminated.

One feature of Guild control is that it will leave the management to the persons interested in and having knowledge of a business. It will not assume that a body composed of an inordinate number of lawyers—as Congress usually has been—no matter how well versed they may be in abstract matters, or a clique of speculators more proficient in stock gambling than in industrial knowledge, will be more competent to handle the business of a mine, a factory or a railroad than the persons actually engaged therein will be. The Guild system will leave to the Guild the questions of how, where and when, this that or the other thing may be done.

The supreme principle underlying the Guilds is that the people are sovereign and that everything shall be done with an eye to the public interest. And as public interest can be subserved only by some form of public control, and as control of the minerals of a country is essential to control of other things, it follows that mining—particularly for coal, iron, copper and petroleum—should be controlled by a Guild for the better protection of other Guilds in their particular spheres, as well as for the general public. What shall be the particular manner or method of Guild management will be left to the wisdom of the miners, subject to general congressional control.

In mining lands, the wealth being controlled by the Guilds, which in turn is controlled by Congress, all that is generally known as “unearned increment” will flow back to the people.

6—Marine Guild.

This will be similar to the other Guilds. It will control fisheries and the canning and disposing of the products, and transportation of freight and passengers by water.

7—Service Guild.

This Guild will be composed of all those engaged in service on persons, including servants, waiters, hotel men, hackmen, laundries, etc., as determined by Congress. It may control or license either associations or individuals in any or all of the various classes of service, and have all powers and privileges pertaining to a

Guild. While it may own and operate any of its businesses directly, it will most probably only license them. Domestic servants will be subject to their employers, under Guild regulations, or permitted such form of autonomy as experience will justify.

8—Professional Guild.

This Guild will have general discretionary powers and may license subsidiary associations, as lawyers, doctors, teachers, musicians, actors, singers, etc., each with authority to control schools, colleges, universities, etc., issue diplomas and superintend its respective affairs, subject to congressional, state and municipal laws. While its members will, so far as is practicable, respect the national minimum wage rate, their remuneration will correspond to their abilities and clientage.

9—Traders' Guild.

This will include all shopkeepers, bankers, insurance men, clerks, agents, middlemen, etc., and their employes, when not engaged in another Guild. Where one or more Guilds desire to conduct establishments for the sale of their products to the public they should be permitted to do so without permit from the Traders' Guild. In other respects, however, the Guild will have full power and may license, operate, own or limit any or all lines of business subject to it. The other Guilds being permitted to enter the field wherever they think it necessary to protect their interests, monopolistic combination will be impossible in the Traders' Guild. Having the power to limit the number of establishments and also to acquire general ownership, the tendency will be toward greater centralization and corresponding economical administration, especially in cities, towns and larger villages.

No doubt some of the large capitalists previously interested in railroads, manufacturing, mining, etc., will join the Traders' Guild and seek to operate large establishments. This must, if permitted, operate to drive keepers of small shops out of business in the great centers and they may become clerks, managers, etc., in the larger stores, which will endeavor to do the bulk of the trade at small margins of profit. The position of the ex-small shopkeeper will not necessarily be the worse

for the change, as his Guild, through its control of properties and of hours and wages, will assure him returns approximate to those of the other Guilds. Many small stores will survive, however, as they do at present, despite the department stores. The probability is that, through arrangement with the Building Guild, when city or town property is improved, quarters will be provided for small shops and for members of the professions. Although the individual citizen is not obliged to patronize any shop or person, yet the judicious limiting and placing of these latter will tend to throw patronage into the hands of those most convenient to the purchaser.

Other Guilds.

Congress may promote other Guilds, either by division or rearrangement of the Guilds named, or in new industries, as necessity demands. (See section 3 of amendment.)

Wages and Hours.

Congress, by establishing the minimum wage and maximum hours and guaranteeing employment, will prevent debasement of labor, while permitting reasonable individual freedom of action and incentive to skillfulness and reliability.

It is not proposed to arbitrarily measure the fitness of individuals nor the values of their services—the Guilds will settle that for their members, in their own way—and as there will always be differences in positions and talents, and probably in remuneration, it is but reasonable that applicants for positions should begin at the foot, if necessary, and graduate upward, according to capacity or experience. If the individual wishes to advance, he should prepare himself by study, assiduity or reliability to fill the superior places. (See sections 4 and 7 of the amendment.)

Money.

The money question will lose much of its present importance, from the fact that the Guilds will protect the people from the manipulations of money changers and speculators. Congress, freed from the influence of these classes, will, if needed, permit of currencies based

on values of assets of the Guilds. Congress will have power to prescribe the legal-tender power of asset currency, and in case international financiers or speculators shall seek to control or curtail circulation of metallic money Congress may demand gold or silver in payment of duties on imports, and will have optional right to purchase the precious metals produced by the Mining Guild. (See section 5.)

Old Age Pensions.

There are so many ways in which Congress may establish funds for aged and dependent persons, and there is so much to be said in favor of such pensions and so little to be said against them, that it is unnecessary to offer any suggestions. (See section 8; also "Internal Revenue Taxes.")

Subsidiary Associations.

The different Guilds may permit subsidiary associations in any trade, service or specialty, and limit their membership to the actual needs. For instance, barber shops (which may be governed by the Professional Guild for sanitary reasons) should be licensed, and new licenses refused when there is an abundance of shops. So with hackmen, restaurants, hotels, lodging houses, etc., in the Service Guild, and with banks, stores, etc., in the Traders' Guild. No incompetent or dishonest person should be licensed to conduct a business. The necessary degree of autonomy can be given to each branch to permit of freedom and elasticity to meet local conditions. The purchaser may patronize any shop or person he desires to, and the reasonable competition that will ensue will compel vigilant catering.

Public Employees.

National, state and municipal employees will be subject to those bodies, which shall respect the regulations regarding the minimum rates of wages and maximum hours of labor established by Congress and by the Guilds. Whenever members of a Guild are employed on public work, agreements should be made with the Guilds.

Immigration.

At present, in the United States, industry being in private hands, with right to hire labor in the cheapest

market, the citizen is unable to rise higher in the social scale than world-conditions will permit. Under the Guilds the Government will be better able to control immigration and the Guilds will, for various reasons, offer employment to citizens in preference to aliens. It does not necessarily follow, however, that intelligent and skillful foreigners will be barred, but rather that inhuman competition in the sale of labor power will be abolished and conditions established that will be a model for the world, and America become the industrial Eldorado of the elite of the brain and brawn of mankind. (See section 7.)

Direct National Operation.

If future conditions shall warrant it, Congress will have power to own and directly operate anything controlled by any Guild, such as telegraphs, telephones, railroads, mills, etc., but must not interfere with freedom of speech, of the press, or of religion, except in a general way to protect the rights of citizens. (See section 3.)

Parity of Exchanges.

Above all the Guilds will stand Congress, representing the nation. Congress will be the supreme law-maker and arbitrator between the Guilds. It will have power, directly or through boards of experts, to fix the maximum rates; the Guild may fix the legal minimum rates. When Congress is assured that a Guild is receiving a disproportionate share of the wealth of the nation, it may order a reduction, thus maintaining an equitable parity of exchange of the products or services of the respective Guilds.

When a Guild shall minimize waste in production, maintain humane conditions of employment and secure for its members a just parity of exchange in what they buy and sell, it will have accomplished the main purpose of its creation.

Unemployed.

All persons living in a country subsist on its products, and it is better to allow each to earn his own livelihood than to depend on charity, or on dishonest methods. Congress and the Guilds will endeavor to absorb the unemployed.

The aim of all forms of democratic government should be to ultimately compel each capable person to earn his bread by useful service, and not live on the exertions of others, no matter by what high-sounding name the process of exploitation may be called.

The waste of labor power through non-employment is a disgrace to civilized governments. If in recent years in the United States an average of 1,000,000 adults—and we believe it is much larger—lacked employment at, say, \$2 per day, the sum lost will amount to at least \$600,000,000 per year, or in 20 years to \$12,000,000,000 (not including interest), or 5 per cent annually on \$12,000,000,000 for 20 years.

Under the Guilds, production being steadier and less liable to fluctuation and speculation than at present, and Congress having power to limit hours of labor and immigration, the proportion of unemployed will be insignificant; the "unemployed problem" will be solved.

HOW IT MAY BE DONE.

The benefits arising from the Guild system will operate from the moment the Guilds are instituted. But it will take time to arrange the fiscal features, and perhaps it is well that a suggestion should be made here as to how this may be done. Remember, it is only by way of suggestion, as it is possible that other and superior plans may be more acceptable when the time comes for decision.

First Five Years—Transportation, manufacturing, mining, building and service utilities may be leased for all or part of, say, the first five years, at rentals decided upon by agreement or by tribunals.

The charges against the incomes of the properties should be as follows:

First—Rentals, which should include interest due on liabilities against the properties.

Second—Wages, which should be about the same, in the aggregate, proportionally, as when properties were controlled by private parties.

Third—Maintenance, improvement and extension.

Fourth—Surplus, which should be placed in a sinking fund for emergencies or for future payment of the principal, or subject to Congress.

During this first five years estimates of the values and future status of the properties should be available and these estimates should guide the Guild in its purchasing of properties, issuing of licenses or permits, etc. The Guild will not be bound to do any particular thing at any particular time, except to act equitably and fulfill its obligations. It may defer until such time as it deems proper any or all of the specific acts it shall be empowered to do. When the Guild, or Congress, does not take steps to control any particular thing subject to it, it will be presumed that the owner will be permitted to carry on his business as theretofore, observing, however, congressional regulations regarding hours, wages, etc.

During this first five years it is quite probable that the margin of unemployed adults will be enlarged—though it may be, in fact, lessened by the number of women and children who may return to the household and the schoolroom. Many persons now engaged in more or less illegitimate or unnecessary occupations will be thrown on the general labor market. To meet this Congress may institute public works, or reduction of hours, or the Building Guild, through its bonds or asset currency, may condemn and purchase large areas of “slum” districts and erect new buildings more in harmony with the civilizing Guild spirit. Colonies of farmers, too, may be established, if thought desirable. It will be the sacred duty of Congress to provide for the absorption of the unemployed into useful fields.

During this five years the Guilds should aim to establish improved methods of production and organization, and they should be watchful that the increment arising from Guild centralization and management shall inure to its members and to the public, and not to the persons from whom properties are purchased.

The Agricultural Guild should, however, organize immediately and proceed to exercise its powers.

The Guilds should establish systems of apprenticeship calculated to improve not only the quality of workmanship, but also the moral, physical and educational tone of its minor subjects.

After First Five Years—Having settled the questions of control and finance, the charges against the Guild properties should be:

First—Interest and sinking fund.

Second—Wages.

Third—Maintenance.

Fourth—Improvement and extension.

Fifth—Surplus.

The interest and sinking funds are made first charges by the amendment, as a sign of good faith on the part of the Guilds. The Guilds will pay for everything they shall acquire, either with cash or with bonds. The interest to be paid will be settled according to the merits of each case, but will not be less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum, except where a less rate is agreed to. The savings of the people can be invested in these bonds and earn such interest as the new conditions will justify. There were in 1903 ten billions on deposit in the banks of the United States; much of this will be available; also a great deal of capital that is now used in businesses that will be displaced by the Guilds. No doubt quite a large surplus will be amassed by the Guilds during the preliminary five years; this will be available and be used to reduce the principal. The centralization of business, prevention of ruinous competition and control of prices should enable corresponding increases of wages, or reduction of hours, or creation of a surplus. Returns from licenses, royalties, etc., will go into the Guild treasury.

The principal of the bonds may be paid in various ways. It may be considered best to leave the matter to be settled when it arises. By way of further suggestion, however, it may be said that the principal can be paid:

First—Out of a sinking fund which, with the interest, will realize the amount in twenty years; or

Second—By payment of a stated portion of the principal and interest yearly, thus wiping out the entire debt in twenty years—or, counting the preliminary five years, a total of twenty-five years.

At the end of that time the properties, with all improvements and increments, will belong apparently to the Guilds, but practically to the whole people, for Congress, by maintaining a just parity of exchange in the products or services of the Guilds, or by taxation, will enable the public to absorb indirectly the benefits arising from Guild control.

It is impossible to determine exactly the value of the properties that will be purchased by the Guilds, as only expert examination at the period of their acquisition will show that; but if we assume that the wealth owned by the 125,000 families referred to later on may be taken as representing the great railroad and trust interests (which in 1890 was estimated at thirty-three billions, and is now probably nearly fifty billions), there is no question that the Guilds can pay for the properties in twenty-five years, or two billions per year, not including interest. This is the extreme amount required and it may be much less after the properties have been rid of the "water" in their present valuation. The interest need not be considered, as we pay that already.

The receipts of the United States Government in 1900 were over one billion dollars—less than sixteen dollars per capita. Under the fairly prosperous times then existing, this tax was hardly felt by the nation. So, under the vastly increased prosperity of the Guilds the sum necessary for liquidation of the sums due on the properties will be lightly felt by the nation. The trusts now rob us of more than that each year, and as property passes into the hands of relatively fewer private hands we will be forced to yield more, and still more, until all that will be left to the American producer will be the simple fare of the landless, moneyless peasant. Eventual freedom, under the Guilds, is cheap even at thrice two billions a year for twenty-five years. *

* THE OWNERS OF AMERICA.

By the Rev. Thomas B. Gregory.

According to a table constructed by Dr. C. B. Spahr, and based upon the census of 1890, America, that is to say the United States of America, the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," with its "government of the people, by the people and for the people," is in a fair way of passing out of the hands of the many into the custody and keeping of the few.

In 1890, then, the wealthy families, those possessing \$50,000 and over, numbered 125,000, their wealth per family being \$264,000; their aggregate wealth being \$33,000,000,000 (thirty-three billions).

The well-to-do families, those having from \$5,000 to \$50,000, numbered 1,375,000, their average wealth being \$16,000; their aggregate wealth \$23,000,000,000 (twenty-three billions).

The middle-class families, possessing from \$500 to \$5,000, numbered 5,500,000, their average wealth being \$1,500, their aggregate wealth \$8,200,000,000 (eight billions, two hundred millions).

The poorer families, those possessing less than \$500, numbered 5,500,000, having on an average \$150 to the family, their aggregate wealth being \$800,000,000 (eight hundred millions).

Thus it appears that one-half the families in the United States

PRACTICABILITY.

In the previous pages we have presented a practical plan for the acquisition of Guild properties. There still remain, however, the question of practicability on other points.

In the political field, the Guild plan can be made to appeal to a larger proportion of the voters than any other current or probable plan of general reform. Herein lies its practicability as a basis for a movement wherein the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer, the professional man and the small merchant may unite against the parasitic influences that now control them.

In the industrial field, it cannot be argued against it that the Guilds will be too large, too unwieldly. We point to the East India Company and similar companies, which were incomparably larger and more powerful than any Guild will be, and the Guilds, being conducted on democratic and not on despotic lines, will be incomparably superior in every respect. Vast railroad and other systems are now operated from a center, through divisions and subdivisions, down to the smallest detail, and their tendency seems to be to grow larger and more centralized day by day.

In the event of any Guild becoming too large or unwieldly, Congress will have power to remedy any weakness that may develop. (See section 3.)

The Guilds will pay for everything they acquire, and in case of differences of opinion regarding properties, will be amenable to courts representing the whole people.

The Guilds will not be operated according to any mere doctrinaire programme, but will recognize any

are without ownership in the country. Seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the country's wealth; while one per cent of the families hold more than do the remaining ninety-nine per cent.

It is unnecessary to remark that a table based upon the census of 1900 would strongly emphasize the conclusion reached from that of 1890; for it may be safely said that not since the beginning of human society has there been a decade in which so many great private fortunes were built up as in the ten years between 1890 and 1900.

Now, to the person that has read history with a careful eye there is nothing in this state of affairs to rejoice over, but much, on the other hand, to seriously reflect upon.

If history tells us anything it tells us, and tells us very plainly, too, that whenever in any nation there has come to pass a pronounced concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, with a corresponding impoverishment of the rank and file of the people, the result has been a disastrous one.

feature or scheme, competitive or collective, or both, which will appear best at a given time, under given circumstances. On one thing, however, they will be steadfast, and that is that anything that will be done shall be done because it subserves public interest.

The Guilds will not ignore the law of supply and demand, but by measuring the supply by the demand will be able to fix the price. The trusts do this now, in a less perfect way, because they have less perfect control than the Guilds will have.

We find that, because of certain rights or privileges acquired under the present laws, it is impossible to institute the Guilds except by constitutional amendment. We are law-abiding, we respect the law, we respect the rights acquired under forms of law; we shall alter the law in a constitutional way and recompense those who have rights under the law. We do this because it is just, progressive and the most expedient and practical at this time.

Thus, from the standpoints of political expediency, industrial management, harmony with economic law, with equity and with progress, the American Guilds will be practicable.

Human nature is wonderfully alike the world over and the ages through; the animus of concentrated wealth is always the same, too, and thus history finds no sort of trouble in repeating itself.

The story, and the whole story, of the rise and fall of the great nations of antiquity is the story of the concentration and explosion of wealth.

Each of those old nations began on the level of democratic fairness and equality. Egypt was owned by the Egyptians, Rome by the Romans, Greece by the Greeks.

There was a justice of ownership and a fair-play of distribution that interested each in all and all in the common fatherland.

But in an evil day the simple, honorable, human arrangement was disturbed; the wealth of the country—of Egypt, Rome, Greece—began to be concentrated in the hands of the few; the few became the governing aristocracy—the many became slaves; and then the deluge!

It is the old, old story, told us by impartial history over and over again. It is the only story history has to tell us. It is impossible that we shall hear any other from her.

Except it be this one—that the Old Eternal laws treat all peoples alike, having no favorites, so that the story of one nation—the conditions being the same—is the story of all the nations.

We know what happened to the people of the olden time, and why it happened; and we may be sure that if this people follows in their footsteps it will have the same destiny.

There is morality in the most vital stamp, as well as the deepest political science, in the poet's famous couplet:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

And in proportion as the wealth "accumulates" instead of scattering, getting into the hands of the few, making them proud, lordly, tyrannical, while the masses become more and more slaves, denuded of their self-respect, not owning any of the earth, but

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

Why An Amendment?

Regarding the necessity of an amendment, we answer that any law made by Congress to form Guilds, without such constitutional provision, will be declared unconstitutional by the Federal Supreme Court. It will be said by them that "it is not in accordance with the American theory of government; that it is 'class legislation,' as it gives sole power to one class to do certain things, to the exclusion of other classes." When the people amend the constitution so as to permit the Guild plan to become operative, then it will be constitutional and the Supreme Court will have to decide accordingly.

Equal Wage.

Each Guild will determine the rates of wages to be paid to workers in its various classes of labor. It is unreasonable to expect that locomotive engineers, or switchmen, who are subject to loss of life or limb, will receive no more than a clerk or a porter in offices or depots. If extra reward is not given for extra-hazardous work there will be a lack of such workers; the extra wage is the compensation for risk.

When a worker receives a larger wage because of greater risk, or of greater ability, or responsibility, in production or management, and consumes it, or uses a part of it to permit of his retirement from active labor at an earlier age, there is a balance between his production and his consumption; he wrongs no man.

At present, the evil lies in the fact that, because of the uncertainty of opportunity to labor to produce present and future needs, industrial society is in a condition of alternate chills and fever, and money-mad or vicious persons are permitted to dominate both labor and natural resources by the lever known as "capital." Thus has it come to this that instead of the orderly

simply dwelling upon it by the grace of their masters—I say in proportion as this comes to pass the evil deplored in the poet's lines becomes a fact.

Something, therefore, must be done, and done soon, to stop the movement which is now so active in our land—the movement toward the concentration of wealth of this country in the hands of the few.

It must be that there is some way out of the difficulty that so menaces our future, and we will hope that before it is too late that way will be discovered.

evolution of tribal systems of industrial equality we have the results of systems of conquest, of slavery, of greed, of tyranny, with all their pernicious effects on art, religion, morals and philosophy.

Different individuals have different capacities of consumption, but this is of no concern so long as each produces what he consumes. When any person is expected to consume less than he produces, it is slavery; when any person consumes more than he is willing to produce, he is a rogue. We deduce from this, therefore, an equal wage is, abstractly speaking, unjust; the just wage is the natural wage, that each man is entitled to what he produces—no more, no less. It is the duty of society to establish industrial conditions that will insure this, as far as is practicable. The Guilds will work to that end.

We are aware that in many lines of industry the "equal wage" is, generally, the most practicable system; to these this criticism will not apply. Our aim is to show that whenever a Guild decides it best, for the general interest, to have varying scales of remuneration, it is not only not unjust, but it is following the most practicable course.

Who Will Do the Dirty Work?

An industrial Guild is not compelled to give employment to any particular person and may discharge or transfer any employe who shows incompetency or disobeys its rules.

Untrustworthy persons will be compelled to seek employment in those classes of Guild or public work that, because of their objectionable nature, are avoided by the more competent and the aspiring. The question, "Who will do the dirty work?" is answered by saying, "Those who show by their incompetency or unreliability that they are unfit to be trusted with the cleaner work." If an individual sinks to his natural level through no fault of society, society is guiltless. Still society, through its helpful institutions, aims to lift him up. The Guild is a democratic, humane institution that will endeavor to find a useful place for those who show a disposition to be fair.

Standards of Value.

At present, when "perishable" crops are consigned in extraordinarily large quantities to any point, mid-

dlemen and canners benefit by the glut. Frequently small fruits, vegetables, etc., are unsalable and are either given away or destroyed. The Farming Guild, not being actuated by motive of profit, but acting only as an agent of its members, will, first, issue information that will help to prevent over-production and gluts; second, if a glut occurs it will be in a position to utilize the surplus in its canneries or by transportation to other points; and, third, the average national or district rate of all transactions, after deducting the cost of handling, will be paid to the farmer on the grade of goods he sells to it. The price may be paid either at the end of the season, or part on delivery and the remainder at a further date. This price may be called the national price if the price is based on all of a particular product in the nation; or it may be called the district price, if the Guild shall, for various reasons, equitable or economical, set up standards for districts.

In grain and other staples the same principle will apply. The Guild stores, mills and, if necessary, sells them. Congress, or its experts, determines the point where the jurisdiction of the Agricultural Guild ends and the Manufacturing or other Guilds begin.

The "world price" is determined by various causes. American grain sold in a foreign country will bring a price corresponding to the competition of the world. The chief wheat-exporting countries are Russia and the United States. Cotton is an American staple. The American Guild, controlling such a vast amount of staples necessary for the world's supply, may by the use of its leverage on the market from year to year demand and receive profitable average prices.*

In manufactured goods—which differ from agricul-

* FARMERS TO CO-OPERATE.

From the Chicago American, December 21, 1903.

"Farmers, representing ten states, gathered at the Grand Pacific Hotel yesterday to discuss a plan of merging their local bodies into one national organization with a view of securing better prices for farm products.

"W. F. Hendricks, president of a local organization in Oklahoma and Southern Kansas, said that his society had 20,000 members and was anxious to affiliate with any national body that would benefit the agriculturist.

"Robert Lindbloom explained the plan of the Farmers' National Co-operative Exchange Company, capitalized for \$50,000,000. 'Our company is the only corporation organized for the conduct of the actual business of storing, buying, selling and shipping farm products through the agencies of the farmers, thereby saving for the farmers the untold millions which are paid for storage and commissions between the farmer and the consumer.

"Fifty million dollars represent but a small fraction that is

tural products in the respect that the former can be increased or diminished according to demand, and do not depend on temperature, rainfall, etc.—prices may be easily regulated by the Guild.

In precious metals the variation in prices from year to year is so small that world prices will be operative and the metals can be used then, as they are now, as monetary standards. In the common metals, the production of which may be generally made to correspond to the demand, prices can be regulated with precision.

In the Service and Building Guilds values will be determined by the values of agricultural, manufacturing and mineral products, measured by the standard of living of the masses.

In the Professional Guild individual ability is of the value it will bring, helped by Guild restrictions and limited by the standard of living. Men of remarkable ability in law, medicine, art, literature, etc., may receive compensation corresponding to their talents.

In the Traders' Guild the same motive will operate as does at present. The object of a trader is to secure such reward for the use of his talent and capital as the competition of others' talent and capital will permit. Being able, in the Guild, to restrict competition to a normally healthy condition, and being liable, in case of abuse of that privilege, to competition of other Guilds and to general supervision of Congress, trade will become less speculative and will tend more and more to become automatic and steady in its operations. "Cornering" the market will be impossible in the United States.

raked off between the farm and the kitchen, and which could be saved under the plan I propose.

"My plan is based upon the fundamental proposition to let every farmer and every farmers' organization do whatever they think best for their own pocketbooks. Equitable prices can only be obtained by being independent of the various associations of dealers, warehousemen and live stock combines.

"The key to the situation is do not sell any faster than the consumer needs it. Do not interfere with the natural law of supply and demand by rushing supplies on a market faster than it can absorb it. We are not attempting to organize a farmers' trust. What we intend to do is to establish natural prices for farm products by a rational distribution of products over the entire crop year, just as the consumer takes a whole year to consume his share of the supplies. We also mean to see that prices are not unduly depressed by combines, false information, the manipulation of news and the dissemination of lies."

¹From the Record-Herald, December 21, 1903

"Robert Lindblom, of Chicago, president of the Farmers' National Co-operative Exchange, made an eloquent plea for disinterested co-operation among the producers. He said:

"No homogeneous wheat now arrives at the seaboard. It has

Internal Revenue Taxes.

Congress will have power to levy taxes on liquors, tobaccos and other products. This power is discretionary on Congress, and it will prove an effective instrument in its hands when the Guilds are instituted. For instance:

1—At present many industries are operated only because of the low wages paid; under the Guilds the minimum wages must be paid, but the products may be untaxed; whereas, on the other hand, the more profitable industries and “luxuries” should be taxed in proportion.

2—As the amount of principal and interest to be paid on the Guild properties decreases, the Guild products should be taxed in amounts equal to the decreased amounts of interest; this tax may be turned over to the national pension fund.

3—If taxes are not assessed as above, and products are sold at the decreased price made possible by the Guilds, the bondholders, whose incomes are measured by dollars and not by products, will receive a larger share of the wealth than they are entitled to, and this should be prevented. Interest saved by Guild ownership should be absorbed by tax into the national pension fund.

Assuming that 50 billions will represent the wealth of the Guilds, this amount, at 5 per cent tax, will produce $2\frac{1}{2}$ billions yearly, or \$30 a month for nearly *seven million pensioners*, or one-third of the present male population of voting age in the United States. This amount now goes to the capitalists; under the Guilds, when the properties are paid for, it will go to the people. And prices will be no higher, but may

all been mixed and doctored by the dealers and the shipping combines. But with our alliance effectively organized, we can see to it that there is adequate supervision of wheat grinding from the time it leaves the fields until it reaches the tables of the consumers.

“Our plan must not conflict with civil and national laws. If we attempt to raise the price of wheat to an arbitrary standard we will be in danger of indictment for conspiracy. We simply propose to regulate the distribution of supplies so that the natural supply and demand may not be violated by the sudden forcing of a whole year's crop on the demand market of half a year.”

“H. H. Carr, of Chicago, said: ‘I contend that of equal importance with its production is the disposal of a crop. The farmers are taxed hundreds of millions of dollars annually by the local grain buyers. The evil is of national importance and the remedy lies in the hands of the progressive farmers.’”

be lower, consequent on other factors—centralization in operation, avoidance of present causes of waste, etc.

After the principal sums due to the bondholders have been paid, prices may be decreased to the extent of two billions per annum; or, if prices are maintained, the two billions may be added to the pension fund—a total of $4\frac{1}{2}$ billions a year. All classes of aged citizens will benefit. The more able-bodied pensioners will constitute a reserve force that can be utilized whenever there is an extraordinary demand for workers, as in times of destruction of property by the elements, or in saving of crops, etc.

Tariffs on Imports.

The Guilds will control the chief industries and the means of transportation; they will naturally endeavor to conduct domestic commerce for the benefit of the American people and questions of free trade and protection, so-called, will become comparatively irrelevant. The power on Congress to impose tariffs is not interfered with, however.

Patents.

The patent laws will remain unchanged. A patent right is property and may be bought or sold. Whenever a Guild desires possession of a patent right, it will purchase it, privately or by condemnation; if it considers its purchase unnecessary it will permit the patentee to manufacture it by license. The probability is that the Guilds will provide inventors with leisure and capital to develop valuable ideas and the real Age of Machinery will begin, the workers reaping whatever benefits will follow.

Lessened Crime.

Excepting those who have legitimate means to live without work of some kind, each person will seek membership in a Guild, and may work at anything only by permission of a Guild. This will give each person an identity which will be hard to conceal when offenses against the law are charged. This, as well as the fact that crimes caused by poverty will no longer be justifiable and will be avoided, should tend to lessen crime.

Notes on Various Subjects.

LAW—The Guilds will render unnecessary many forms of litigation and the number of lawyers may be lessened, but Federal, state and municipal laws will still be in force, and criminal, probate and other courts exist and lawyers and judges will be needed. Law will be purged of many obnoxious features. The ablest will survive and the term "lawyer" will designate a class of learned men who will be held in greater esteem by the public.

MEDICINE—Members of the medical profession should welcome any plan that will assure fair living conditions to the masses and enable them to command the services of trained, competent men to attend to their bodily ills. The Guild plan will affect the medical profession profoundly—to be a licensed physician will be both honorable and profitable.

ART, DRAMA, AMUSEMENTS—There is nothing in the Guild plan that will interfere with the management or free play of talent in music, teaching, literature, etc., but rather as a higher standard of general culture will have become possible, most of these will expand indefinitely beyond their present proportions. Initiative in all forms of amusement and sport is left to private persons, for either pleasure or profit, as at present, subject, of course, to Guild regulations and to local laws. If the national sporting associations now tend to bar dishonesty in sports, the Guild associations will act likewise, only more so.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH—Freedom of religion, of speech and of the press being guaranteed, each person may think as he pleases and act correspondingly, with due regard to the rights of others. Religious and educational associations may retain their churches, halls and beneficiary institutions. Religion, relieved of many temporal features which now obscure it, will shine forth in its native glory.

AUTHORS AND LECTURERS—Writers and publishers of books will have at least as large a field as at present. They will have liberty to publish and copyright their opinions, amenable only to general law. The same applies to journalism. Any one may publish a magazine or paper, subject to Guild regulations re-

garding hours and wages of labor. Lecturers and preachers may follow their vocations, either for pleasure or profit.

EXCLUSIVE CORPORATIONS—It will be said that government should not authorize exclusive corporations—that it should not close the door of opportunity to any one who has the ambition and strength to succeed. But government is itself an exclusive corporation, with original powers, and may delegate its powers to any person or corporation—for the public good, which is higher than the right of an individual. Governments operate postoffices, railroads, canals, banks, armies, mints and many other things to the exclusion of individuals; authorize tariffs as barriers for the purpose of stifling competition—for the public good. The Guilds will be operated for the public good.

RIGHTS OF STATES—Of course, any law interfering with the operation of the Federal Constitution, as amended, will become defunct, but otherwise there will be no interference with the laws of states or **municipalities**.

The amendment is intended to cover the manufacture, transportation and exchange of products, and the industrial relations of citizens, and not questions of morals or personal conduct, as the liquor question, gambling, etc., or questions of suffrage or local taxation.

STRIKES—Any person has a right to refuse work under abhorrent conditions and seek employment elsewhere, but should be entitled to demand and be willing to submit to impartial tribunals; therefore, the presumption is reasonable that strikes will be unnecessary under the humane rule of the Guilds.

PANICS—Commercial panics usually occur where there is insecurity of property and credits; under the Guilds these will be reduced to a minimum.

OVER-PRODUCTION—Each person being assured a position as a steady producer, with corresponding steady power of consumption, Guild participants will look on "over-production" as pertaining only to a barbarous age. All production, whether directly or indirectly, by license or otherwise, should be subject to curtailment by the Guilds' statistical experts. This will prevent "over-production."

EX-POST FACTO LAWS—The present constitution says: "No bill of attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed."

It will be argued from this that government has no right to pass any law that will invalidate or condemn a charter passed before the passage of the Guild law. But government issues titles in perpetuity to homesteads, yet it can and does cause them to be condemned for public or semi-public uses, as in the case of railroads, etc., when compensation is given. It can do likewise with charters or patents, and at all events when the Guild amendment is adopted it will do it by constitutional right, no matter in what way it may have been limited in that respect previously. Slavery had been declared to be legal, but it is no longer so; the people have amended the constitution.

SAVINGS BANKS—The chief industries being controlled by Guilds, Guild bonds will be a safe investment for the savings of the people. Guilds may operate banks for members; Government also may maintain saving depositories; permitting such interest as the new conditions will warrant. Private banks, as they are known today, will become of relatively less importance, and will be simply conveniences for transient trading transactions. The power of the money lords in the United States will be gone forever.

LOOSE CAPITAL—It will be asked, What will be done with loose capital—that is, the money capital paid to owners of railroads, factories, mines, etc., by the Guilds? They can reinvest it in any business or land open to them, subject to Guild regulations; or in government, state or municipal bonds; or in Guild bonds; or they can take their money to other countries and invest it there; or they can live in idleness so long as their health and money will permit. Nothing that such capital may do will interfere appreciably with the welfare of the nation. All wealth is produced by labor, which includes talent; money is an instrument to facilitate exchange of property; there are different kinds of money; bullion money, asset money, fiat money; the nation and the Guilds, possessing assets, can, generally, secure any of these kinds of money as needed, but they are not compelled to use only bullion money, but may issue their own money, based on their own assets; "fiat" money will be unnecessary.

In case capitalists should seek to divert capital to buy large tracts of land, hoping to reap profits under Guild control, they will be able to do so only until such time as the Agricultural Guild or Congress shall prohibit it. The rule will apply in every other industry; the constitutional amendment cuts the ground from under all forms of plutocracy.

ADULTERATION—COMPETENCY—The Guilds will insist on periods of apprenticeship and study necessary to produce competent artisans, doctors, etc., and the individual will be careful that the quality of his workmanship or service shall not be questioned. Adulterated goods will be rare and competency will be general.

INITIATIVE—At present the chief incentive to production is profit, chiefly by possessors of speculative capital. Under the Guilds initiative will be largely under the direction of Guild experts, actuated by the demand. Labor will take the place intended for it by nature, and capital will be its instrument. But it does not follow from this that all private initiative will be suppressed. On the contrary, individuals wishing to develop any process, machine, shop, etc., may be given full power to do so, subject to Guild control.

TRUSTS—The Guilds will be trusts, in the best sense, and we will be participants in them. That will forever settle the trust question.

SURPLUS—The funds of the various Guilds will be under Congressional supervision and any surplus left after liabilities for wages, maintenance, extension, interest or sinking funds, etc., are provided for, should be subject to Congressional direction, either for old-age pensions, rewards, extra per capita compensation, public works, or emergency fund. This is merely a suggestion, however, and it is not imperative that the question shall be settled until the Guilds are established.

ARMY AND NAVY—The army and navy is left entirely under control of the President and Congress. Armies should be maintained as long as they are necessary to sustain democratic institutions, and government should be given power to use them to the best advantage. Industry being centralized and a correspondingly increased leisure being permissible to the work-

ers, militia and gymnastic organizations should be fostered by the government, not only for the defense, but for the physical well-being of citizens.

What the Guilds Will Not Do.

The Guilds, it will be found, do not propose to appropriate the home of the worker in town or city, nor the farm of the agriculturist, nor the property of any person without compensation; they do not propose to destroy the myriad varieties of small shops and conveniences that spring up as in a night to minister to the necessities or pleasures of the shifting populations; they do not propose to put art, nor music, nor the drama, nor literature, nor fashion, in a strait-jacket, but shall insist that free play be allowed them and that monopoly shall not exercise its strangling hold upon them; they do not propose that the institutions of religion may not go side by side with the institutions of the state, each in its proper sphere, and each equally tolerant of the rights of the other; they do not propose that law and order, and the sacredness of the family, of human life and of legitimate property rights shall be cast aside or trifled with by every passing gale of riotous clamor; nither do they propose to alter human nature, except in so far as it may be bettered by fair opportunity and equality before the law.

Thus, both by what they do and by what they do not, should the Guilds be judged.

Moral Effect.

The moral effect of the Guilds will be incalculably great. Certainty of profitable employment under sanitary conditions; purity of food; opportunity for reasonable leisure and pleasures; security in old age; withdrawal of women and children from the factories and their return to the fireside and the schoolroom; freedom of political action; lessened incentive for crime; reawakened consciousness of the nobility of manhood, the holiness of womanhood, the sacredness of childhood; the sanity, the wholesomeness, the desirability of life from the cradle to the grave—ah, surely the flower of morality shall thrive and blossom in such a soil.

If it shall not, what hope is there for humanity? To what purpose have we revered the Buddha, the Christ,

and other teachers of the centuries; erected temples of worship and courts of justice and prophesied the Brotherhood of Man? Is law fraudulent? Is religion hypocrisy? Are all our ideals vanities?

No! The books, the philosophies, the movements, the institutions that were and are rallying points for enthusiasts, for martyrs, say these were not, are not, will not be so, and that humanity, rising step by step to higher ideals in the face of adverse conditions in the past, will, in the future, under the Guilds, rise to still higher planes, gradually losing those imperfections that impede it, to culminate in that most sane, most ethical, most moral conception—the Brotherhood of Man!

“Courage yet, my brother or my sister !

What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents,

Invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement,

Waiting patiently, waiting its time.—*Walt Whitman.*

POLITICAL ACTION.

Of course, political action of some sort is necessary to bring about the adoption of the amendment authorizing the Guild. Two ways are open.

First—An independent political party.

Second—A non-partisan educational movement.

The second has, at present, the most points in its favor, provided it is conducted along certain lines. The plan we would suggest is this: Form primary, district and state clubs composed of voters of all parties.

Union men in the cities and farmers' organizations in the country should take the initiative in forming these clubs. Invite discussion of the Guild and allied subjects, and urge Guild supporters in each district to select candidates for delegates to their respective party conventions.

Many voters are tied to present parties by sectional, race, tariff, monetary and other issues and it is almost impossible to appeal to them except in a non-partisan way. Many planks in the parties' platforms will not be avoided by their supporters so long as present condi-

tions prevail, and the aim of the Guild clubs should be to hold themselves free of such subjects, expect to show how, in a general way, the Guild affects them.

Influence brought to bear on the primaries should continue up to district, state and national organizations, and may lead to one or more of the chief parties indorsing the Guilds; after which the course is clear.

Apart from their educational value on the Guild question, these primary clubs should have a purifying effect on general politics, as the opportunity given to the ordinary citizen to associate himself with his kind and determine elections for primary delegates will result in suppressing the corrupt cliques that now control party organizations. When the workingmen and farmers work as hard at primary elections as they do at public elections politics will take on a new aspect.

But while we at present favor the no-new-party plan, we see no good reason why progressive Republicans and Democrats, if their parties continue to remain obdurate to sentiment in favor of the Guild amendment, may not, later on, unite in a new party, or with the Populist party, if the latter shall favor the Guilds. It would be a consummate stroke of good policy for the Populists to revise their platform to include the Guild plan, and we respectfully commend it to their careful consideration. The Socialists, too, on the one hand, and the Single Taxers, on the other, will, if they are wise, abandon their extreme, impracticable programmes in favor of the more just and feasible plan outlined in this book. Each school of progressive economic thought may, with advantage, recede from its extreme position and combine to strike a blow for freedom.

OTHER SYSTEMS AND "REMEDIES"

In presenting the Guild system for the favor of the American citizen, it will, no doubt, be subjected to criticism from advocates of not only existing but projected systems and remedies. We anticipate the conflict. Herewith is presented a cursory view of the different schools of economic thought from which objections will come. Occasionally we interject a "good word" for the Guilds.

"Free Competition."

"Free competition" is the favorite theory of a large class of economists and also of a very large class of thoughtless persons. We say "theory," for it has seldom proved to be more than that. "Free" is a misnomer. If we consider man in barbaric ages, when government was only nominal, or in newer countries where resources of nature were abundant and open to all, it may be said that "free competition" existed, for a limited time. But in organized states, privileges of one kind or another have generally prevailed which in effect lessened or prevented free competition, and in most cases were granted or sought for the specific purpose of assuring to one class dominion over other classes.

Capital has usually been able to protect itself, but the working man and the farmer have been unable to protect themselves against competition and exploitation on all sides. And it was not when society was held together by mediaeval feudalism and when the alleged beneficent competition is supposed to have been less active that the producing classes were exploited most, but rather when competition was lauded and held up as the only safe rule for the conduct of industry.

Froude, in his "History of England," after showing how the material well-being of the workman had become reduced because of the evasion of feudal duties by rich landlords, and was again restored by Parliamentary statutes "obliging the lords of the fees to do their duty," says:

"They prove, I think, conclusively that the laboring classes owed their advantages not to the condition of the labor market, but to the care of the state, and that

when the state relaxed its supervision, or failed to enforce its regulations, the laborers, being *left to the market chance, sank instantly in the unequal struggle with capital.*"

That was before steam and machinery were brought into competition with human labor, and when the need for food, clothing and shelter was no more urgent than it is to-day.

Again, after comparing the industrial condition of the masses of the sixteenth century with those of the nineteenth century, Froude says:

"The working man of modern times has bought the extension of his [political] liberty at the price of his material comfort. The higher classes [owners of estates who, while granting extension of political "liberty," had secured abandonment of the feudal duties of property] have gained in luxury what they lost in power." [The brackets are inserted by us to explain the text.]

Lacking the knowledge, which could only come through bitter experience, that mediaeval feudalism could have been modernized by democratizing it, statesmen and political economists permitted it to go through the nightmare of "free competition," from which it is now awaking.

"Free competition" is a modern idea and is both unpatriotic and immoral, and is tolerated only, as we have said, where statesmen are ignorant of—or callous to—its logical termination, which is plutocratic feudalism.

Under the trust system the victors in the so-called "competitive" battle are fortifying the strategic points so as to fully dominate the economic fields without regard to national lines. Capital has no country, no patriotism, except where its interests are threatened; then it is most vociferous and a well-known quotation can be paraphrased to read, "Patriotism is the last refuge of capital."*

* Henry Demarest Lloyd, in his pamphlet on the Chicago traction question, says:

"One of the contemporary events in the world of municipal ownership is the fierce onslaught now being made on the cities of England which are embarking so successfully on the policy of public ownership of public utilities. Features of this campaign have been the series of articles in the 'Thunderer' (London Times) and other newspapers, memorials to the Bank of England, open participation by private monopoly in the politics and elections of cities like Birmingham, which have traction questions to settle. This campaign is in the hands of American interests,

"Free competition" is immoral, because it carries false colors. In no previous period has money capital wielded such power as it does at present. Government, both republican and monarchical, "free" or autocratic, are mere puppets in the hands of the financiers.

"Business" has become the plaything of the moneyed speculator and gambler. The farmer and the working man are taught to believe that they are "free," but are forced to accept the smallest possible return for their products, that the speculative margin may be increased for the benefit of parasites. The "increment" of every improvement in the machinery of production is made "fixed capital" and society at large is forced to pay dividends to the possessor, forever.

The following extract from a letter by Walter Wellman, a noted newspaper man, goes to show the power exercised by one financier:

"Mr. Rockefeller is also interested in lake shipping, in iron and copper mines, in the United States Steel company, in banks, and all as a result of his original interest in oil.

"He can take what he will, by levying tribute upon the whole nation, and it is impossible now to fix any

substantially identical with those now seeking to perpetuate their monopoly in Chicago. These electrical, financial and speculative magnates have among them some who are already possessors of world-covering monopoly—and they aim to the acquisition of all that kind of luxury they can wheedle or bribe or bully out of the people. * * *

"One of their most prominent generals in this war has been the Hon. Robert P. Porter, whose activities in Europe in more or less public effort in the interest of the Standard Oil Company are chronicled in the European press. Mr. Porter, though an American, intervened 'in a heated local campaign in Birmingham, where he went to speak in support of an electric combine which was trying to force the municipality to hand over its franchise in street railways. The civic spirit of Birmingham asserted itself on that occasion, and the company, notwithstanding its vigorous campaign to convert public opinion to its side, was ignominiously defeated.'

"Very high up in English Government these influences have been able to go. The Lord Chief Justice of England * * * resents as interference the efforts of public authorities to see that the proposals of private enterprise do not conflict with the interests and rights of the public. There is a power in these great interests which can draw the English Lord Chief Justice from the calm judicial atmosphere of the bench to take part in this way in this very controversial business between the towns of England and the trusts of America. *It is the same power* which means to mould all departments of American public administration similarly to do its will and adopt its doctrines, on the bench and elsewhere.

"Let us be perfectly plain. It is not merely the same power in kind that is doing the same work in England and America. It is the power of the *same men*. The companies in behalf of which the Lord Chief Justice makes these extraordinary remarks

limit to his power. His income is so enormously in excess of what he can use that every year adds many millions to his funds for investment, so that he is in a position to take advantage of any opportunity that may offer for profitable purchases of any description. When there is a flurry in Wall street and a rush to sell, he can buy shares by the thousands and tens of thousands. From dictating to one trust, he can proceed to dictate to others, by virtue of his increased holdings, and the only limit placed upon him is that imposed by death. If he could reach the years of a Bible patriarch the whole country might become merely a Rockefeller combine."

Politics and journalism, and sometimes religion, are perverted to play upon the credulity of large portions of the community, that they may comply with the schemes of the financiers, who, like petulant children, refuse to play except on condition that they shall have their own way.

This is equally true of "free trade" and "protective tariff" countries.

Under "Protection."

In the United States the great industries—transportation, steel, coal, milling, etc.—are in the control of a few men who have their representatives in high places

* * * are specifically companies including among their active members men who have been and are active in traction in Chicago. The British Electric Traction Company is the name of the 'securities company' by means of which street railways in a large number of British cities are held in unified ownership by a group of capitalists. Its function is similar to that of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which owns the gas works of scores of American cities, and is itself owned in large part by men identified with Standard Oil interests. It is in a pool to divide territory and abstain from competition with the group of capitalists who are about to 'tube' London. This group of capitalists, says Mr. Donald in *The Contemporary Review* for July, 1903, is 'connected with some of the greatest financial and trust magnates on the other side. The directors of the new Underground Electric Railways of London, for instance, include men on the boards of American companies closely identified with Standard Oil interests. There are also representatives of such powerful monopolies as the Boston Elevated Railway Company, the Union Traction Company of Philadelphia, the Baltimore and Cleveland Street Railway combines. They are connected also on the American side with the great electrical manufacturing interests. A director of the London Underground Company is also on the board of the Westinghouse Electrical Manufacturing Company, while another director is on the board of the General Electric Company, these two powerful combinations dividing between them also the entire business of the manufacture of electrical apparatus in the United States. * * * There are also shareholders in the London Underground Companies identified with these various trusts, and with others, such as the interests controlling the public services in New York city.'"

to defeat measures or nullify laws expressing popular demands.

Trust magnates have "watered" stocks with the object of exacting the largest possible amount of tribute from the producer and the consumer.

Rings and rings within rings exist and are being extended in many cities in building, manufacturing and other branches of local trade and industry, to stifle competition.

All this is done in a land with unlimited resources and capital, with free domestic competition, but "protected" against the rest of the world.

Its free trade opponents, however, point to the good results which will result from free competition with all the world.

Under Free Trade.

Clarence S. Darrow, writing from England, which has had free trade and is questioning its utility, says:

"It is true that the glowing prophecies of the doctrinaire free traders of fifty years ago have proved to be only idle dreams. The Utopia that they painted for the contemplation of the English workingman, under the beneficence of free trade, was every whit as alluring as the one which the Socialist paints to-day. Rags and misery would disappear. Hunger would be no more. Almshouses and jails would fade away. Prosperity and equality would come to every Briton if they adopted the simple maxim of selling in the dearest market and buying in the cheapest—of removing trade, industry and commerce from the control or regulation of restrictive laws.

"Time has proved the falsity of all these prophecies, as it does of most prophecies, political and religious, and the English workman is to-day as poor and dependent as fifty years ago. The fertile fields, the great estates, the powerful lords, the luxurious, wasteful, consuming class are here in England now just as they were half a century ago or five centuries ago—just as they were in France, just as they are in America—and the ragged and the poor and the wretched are here to-day as they were then."

Single Tax.

Now the Single Taxer comes forward with his remedy. What it is and what are its hopes of success may be judged from the following:

Ghent, in his admirable work, "Our Benevolent Feudalism," says of them:

"They dream of a millenium through the imposition of a tax on the economic value of land, and the abolition of all other taxes and duties of whatsoever kind. Free competition is their shibboleth. * * * But if there be one fact in the realm of political economy fairly established, it is that the era of competition, free or unfree, is dead, and the means of its resurrection are unknown to political science. * * * With the younger generation visions of free competition are but as childrens' dreams."

Horace White, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, says regarding the improbability of the adoption of the single tax by the United States:

"The land-owners have so many stakes in the country, and these are driven so firmly, and woven together so tightly, that no revolution can gain head which has for its aim to dispossess them of their homes and acres, or to unduly tax them."

Regarding "confiscation" by "economic rent," he rightly says:

"When we are told that the state could not divest itself of the right to resume possession of the land, we reply that it has never done so. It has only divested itself of the right to take it without *just compensation*."

We question whether the workingman with a home, or the farmer with a farm, will consent to the absorption of the "unearned increment" of his property and still allow his labor power to be subject to the law of "supply and demand" and "free competition."

"Free competition!" It is chiefly cant—hypocrisy! Few practice it. It is destructive, inhuman. It is only when it is modified by the civilizing hand of the democratic-feudalistic principle—that systems are made for men, and not men for systems—that whatever good there is in competition is made effective.

For the producer there is one sure way in which there is really industrial freedom, and that is where the means of production are subject to democratic control. The producing class understand this more or less clearly, and this explains why the majority of them instinctively incline toward collectivist theories of industry rather than to "laissez-faire" and its various modifications. They are doubtful as to the road, however, and await some one to point the way.

"Free competition" and its "single tax" ally are out of harmony with modern tendencies and are therefore discredited.

The single-taxers are right, however, when they assert that the increment created by the community should return to the community. In fact, no system is justifiable unless it does that, as otherwise it leads to concentration of wealth in few hands, with all the evils that result therefrom. We favor the return of such increment to the community, but desire it to be done in such a way as will not interfere with centralized, economical and democratic control. Therefore we advocate the Guilds.

When the Guild system is adopted, a tenet of the single-taxers—that land should return to the community the "unearned increment" which the community creates—will become operative, but not in the particular way they advocate. It will operate by natural law.

At present many valuable lots are occupied in the cities by great buildings filled with middlemen and speculators of more or less doubtful utility. Many rooms will be vacant unless occupied by the Guilds, but these, having command of labor and material at basic prices, and not being compelled to settle in those now congested localities, will seek new districts unless the owners consent to abandon the "unearned increment" and accept prices which are fair to the Guilds. This cannot be called "confiscation," as the community has never guaranteed that it will permanently reside or carry on business in a particular neighborhood. The land-owner took that chance when he bought his land.

How the "unearned increment" in mining and other lands is absorbed is treated elsewhere.

We have been unable to discover any clear explanation of how the single tax is to ascertain and collect the "unearned increment." "Rental value" is not "unearned increment." The peasant who removes stones and other impediments and brings an almost worthless plot of ground to a condition where its "rental value" is considerable, properly considers that he and not the community created the "rental value."

The Guilds go further than the single tax. They cause the unearned increment in both land and machinery to return to the masses; they permit competition to exist where it is adequate and humane; they

institute beneficent monopoly where conditions justify, either by an association or by absolute national ownership, if necessary; and, above all, they assure industrial opportunity to every citizen, without regard to sex, color, creed or locality, and engrave it on the tables of the supreme law, the constitution.

Socialism.

In opposition to the "competitive" theory of production comes what is known as "socialism," the extreme phase of which is that society should own and operate directly and absolutely, "all the means of production, distribution, transportation and exchange," as its supporters express it. It is the reaction from what is not inaptly termed the "hell of the competitive system," and like most reactions, it goes too far.

Governmental amelioration of the evils of the competitive system is classed by the latter's adherents as "socialistic." But, in a sense, government is socialistic; therefore abolish government, with its laws and institutions, and return to barbarism—the rule of brute force. That is the logic of it.

Doubtless some critics will call the Guild plan "socialistic," while others, in the socialist opposition, will term it "competition under another name." Now, the author does not care what it may be termed, if it can be made apparent to candid minds that it has the merits claimed for it. Let the public decide.

Even if the socialist is right in his assertion—which, by the way, he is not—that competition is always destructive, the knowledge of the obstacles to its adoption in the United States should make him pause. The wide extent of territory and the millions of farmers who are wary of every form of dispossession, will form effective checks to socialism's success for many, many years.

Socialism is a subject that takes the ordinary man considerable time to fathom, and when he has reached its profoundest depths he is not certain of his ground. How, then, can he expect the farming class, which is isolated from and unacquainted with many of the complex questions of modern industry, to see the subject from the socialistic viewpoint of the factory worker?

It is possible, also, on the other hand, that the factory worker—accustomed to act, almost to think, me-

chanically, and pay undue attention to cant phrases of pseudo philosophers—fails to comprehend the viewpoint of the farmer who, being close to Mother Earth and seeing the constant struggle between man and nature, is more callous to speculative philosophies and ballot-box Utopias and prefers what he calls “something feasible,” that is, *feasible to him, a voter*.

Still the farmer has his grievances and it is not unreasonable to expect that he will help to secure economic stability to the worker in factory, railway, mine or shop if he thereby assured to himself corresponding security in the field of agriculture. This the Guilds will do, and it is to the interest of the farmer to indorse them. He will not indorse “socialism.”

Socialists denounce what they term the “step-at-a-time policy under capitalist government.” But if they can be made to see that when the American people have put into the organic law—the constitution—the principle that the people may fortify themselves through their Guild organizations, and that every step thereafter is taken only because it is natural and necessary, and unimpeded by the present pernicious interests which the Guilds will have displaced, and will be able to go forward to the utmost heights of economic and social freedom, then the socialist will understand why this “*step-at-a-time, under the Guilds*,” being equitable, timely and practicable, is worthy of support. (See Section 3.)

The good features of socialism are retained in the Guild plan and the undesirable features are eliminated; but, unlike socialism, where the government is everything, the Federal Government is made by the adoption of the Guilds amendment a simple governing body, concerning itself mainly with general principles and leaving the details of industry to the workers, who are most competent to decide them.

The citizen is guaranteed employment at fair wages measured by his own capacity, during his working years, and is assured of a competency in his old age. He possesses freedom of thought and speech and reasonable freedom of action.

While industries are subject to the collective control of Guilds, many features of competition are utilized. Private property is not prohibited where it does not interfere with the public interest. “Confiscation” is least thought of and will not obtain.

The general political institutions of the nation and the states are not altered. Congress, representing the citizens and the states in their general and not merely their industrial capacity, will act alike as a spur and a check on the Guilds.

It cannot be said of the Guilds, as is said of socialism, that there will be "too much government" in their operation. The Guilds will have their officers and board of directors, who will be in every-day session and may conduct business as a corporation does to-day. The national Government—that is, Congress—will meet as at present, and pass on general legislation for the public, which will include the Guilds. The Congress will have its committees and experts to advise it, and may conduct its business as expeditiously as it does now; in fact, it may do it with greater ease, as a multitude of details which now occupy its time may be left in control of the Guilds. What has been said of the national government will apply to state and municipal governments, in their special fields.

The Guild plan is along the line of least resistance, inasmuch as it recognizes that there are certain rights of capital that must be justly dealt with and at the same time permits of an indefinite expansion of public control, according as society grows in that direction. It does not decry competition always and everywhere, as does the socialist, but utilizes it where it is desirable and rejects it where it is undesirable or impotent. Competition is certainly an evil when carried to an extreme, particularly in labor power, the least self-defensive of all the so-called "commodities," and when, at the same time the lever of capital is placed in few hands, enabling the possessors to exact the utmost from the producer, then indeed is the latter an industrial slave. The Guilds will prevent these evils, as under them industrial power lies in their membership.

The Guild plan permits of evolution toward the ideal of the collectivists, or socialistic school—"industrial government"—by easy, natural stages. While we believe that the institution of the Guilds will force socialism into obscurity, still it will not impede, but will help, its establishment if it is thought necessary. Therefore the socialist, as well as his opponent, the single-taxer, should support the Guilds.

When the Guilds amendment is adopted, constitu-

tional amendment changing the basis of congressional representation from districts, as at present, to Guilds, in proportion to membership, will institute "industrial government." But it will not be necessary.

Trades Unions.

Trades unions are associations to prevent undue competition in labor and to generally protect wage-workers. Trades unions are strong when the demand is strong and weak when the demand is weak. In "hard" times they are unions in name only, and many of them tumble like a house of cards at the slightest adversity. When the inevitable result of labor competition is to compel the average man to work for but little more than his subsistence, this is natural. Increment of land and machinery inuring to the possessor, the "labor-saving" of machinery consists in the ability of the possessor to live without labor—or new accretions to the "leisure class." The "consumption" of this leisure class is balanced by the "production" of the labor-saving machinery. The producing class remains in about the same (when it is not worse) condition as the producers in ages before machinery. The "wage fund" is about the same as before machinery. In other words, we repeat, the increment of all the advances in processes, machinery and land accrue to their possessors—unless regulated by society. An examination of the quotation from Froude in another part of this book proves this. The sturdy, well-fed Englishman of the feudal days is in marked contrast to the stunted body and brain of his twentieth century successor. We must attribute the superiority of the feudal "vassal" to the twentieth century "freeman" to the fact that he received more and better beef, bread and beer—in other words, *more wages*..

Another effect of machinery is that in private ownership it is a lever that permits of the control of industry that terminates in monopoly, plutocracy, wealth-centralization—as we may see by looking around us. That we have reached that stage is attested by the diagram, "Wealth and Who Owns It;" also by the following quotation from Bouroff's "Coming Crisis" (page 184):

"As long as the concentration of wealth in the private monopolies, trusts and combinations not only absorbs

all the yearly increase of wealth produced by the nation, but absorbs the wealth formerly owned by the people, it does not make a difference whether these combinations raise or lower the high prices of utilities which they speculate in upon the market; the whole wealth and the entire rights for wealth must sooner or later be concentrated in the hands of a very few families, because *all the means of concentration are within their hands*. Consequently, it is not a question whether these all-pervading combinations are beneficent or malificent in their character, as in either case they work out the same evil result. But the question is only a question of time: how long before the people with all their superior productivity and phenomenal increase of wealth will have neither wealth nor property, nor rights, nor sufficient means for existence? How long before they all shall in all details be absolutely dependent upon the very few speculators, whose unbounded fortunes the tens of millions of workers are constantly compelled to increase?

"Again, this concentration of wealth can neither be hindered by raising the prices of the raw materials and products, *nor even by the raising of wages*, nor by lowering the prices of consumable utilities, nor by lowering the present rents, because the rate of concentration of wealth now surpasses all degrees of change which may be effected by such regulation, while the net profits from the nation's energy and labor are ultimately derived only by the few, who are becoming fewer."

By the adoption of Article XVI., the Guilds *reverse* the order of concentration of wealth, because, to use the words used in the above quotation, "*all the means of concentration are within their hands*." The increment of all improvement in forms of production inure to the controllers thereof, who, under the Guilds, are the producers—the farmer, the miner, the mechanic and other forms of labor (which includes talent)—and human labor, which is now a mere commodity and bought and sold like pig iron or manure, will, under the Guilds, resume its proper function, which is human life exerting its energies to secure the commodities and services which serve to feed, shelter, edify and glorify the human race.

The Guilds may be called trades unions enlarged

and strengthened. To-day trades unions have no legal power to do anything except strike, and even that is limited by the interpretation that while an individual has the right to strike, he is subject to charges of conspiracy if he combines with others to strike. The Guilds, if adopted, will be unions of all engaged in production, with original, exclusive and *constitutional* right to regulate industry, *democratically*. The machinery of existing unions will be useful when the Guilds are being organized, and their members will have much to say regarding Guild operation. Every union man should support the Guild amendment.

A WORD TO THE WISE CAPITALIST

Truth is relative right; the right of yesterday may be the wrong of to-day. The beneficent competition of the days of handicraft may become an evil in the days of modern machinery and the industrial trust. To imagine that modern industry may be subjected to the simple rules of exchange of by-gone days is not only an absurd dream but a criminal folly. New conditions demand new laws, evils demand remedies; the remedies will be as drastic as the evils are obdurate.

It is our duty to discriminate—to be open-minded, to be sincere. The rich man should not condemn the poor man as “anarchistic” or inspired by vulgar selfishness when the latter asserts his hatred of existing conditions; neither should the poor man denounce the rich man who feels that he is a necessary factor in production and endeavors to perform his part. So long as capitalistic initiative is permitted, it is right and, in fact, necessary; so long as capitalistic initiative works to the disadvantage of the worker, he has a right to denounce it, totally or in part, and call for its curtailment or abandonment.

It is not by calling hard names that we shall progress; rather by getting together and listening to each other. And if we are to disagree, let us meet as ambassadors of opposing armies and be sociable while we are in conference. It is not a question of men, but of principles.

A large part of this book is devoted to showing the producer how he shall be benefited by the Guilds. We appeal to his sense of justice that he may respect the rights of the capitalist—that by conservative procedure he will secure conditions in harmony with modern needs more expeditiously and with less waste of effort than by violent or radical means.

But if conservatism is necessary to the producing classes, it is doubly so to the capitalist. He has the most to lose and is the more certain to lose, if conflict comes, particularly in the United States.

The signs of the times point to radical changes in the future. The experiences of the past few years with Populism and "Bryanism" are to be re-enacted in the future—only more violently, or under leadership of men or parties less circumspect in their criticism of the existing order.

Rebellion is world-wide. The waters of discontent are restrained by ingenious political devices. But the waters are rising higher and higher, and when the dam breaks—and it is only a matter of time—*what then?*

A King of France was asked that question and his petulant answer was "*After me, the deluge.*" The deluge did come *after* his death because the masses were uneducated and did not move as rapidly, nor as terribly, nor as inexorably, as the educated masses will in the future. Mark this: It is not now the sudden rising of the waters of temporary discontent, but the conscious, solid massing of educated units, with a definite object. It will not do to say "*After me, the deluge.*" The deluge is before you; its white caps are leaping against the dams of privilege in Germany, in Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Russia, in America. Unlike a dam which is raised higher and higher against threatening floods, the dam of privilege is being lowered as a concession to the aspiring multitude—but in vain, for with every concession they grow bolder and with increased ardor attacks the legal barriers which restrain them.

No longer can the wand of caste, of sect, of nationality, be waved in exorcism of the masses. They laugh at you; they flaunt their banners in your faces; they point to *their caste*, the producing class; to *their religion*, the religion of Jesus and of moralists: "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you,"

"If a man shall not work, neither shall he eat"; to *their nationality*, the brotherhood of man!

The Guild would save you from danger not because you are more necessary in the economy of production, nor more worthy of protection, than the laborer, but because it is more expedient, more just, more in harmony with industrial evolution, to compensate you for your acquired privileges than to confiscate them—which, by the way, is the only other alternative.

Says Lord Macaulay:

"You may think your country enjoys an exemption. As long as you have a boundless extent of land you may. But the time will come when either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government, and your republic will be as fearfully plundered by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth; the Huns and Vandals who ravished Rome came from without; yours will come from within."

Yes, the Vandals will come *from within* if the conditions that breed them are permitted to continue. But they should not be permitted to continue.

If you are a lover of American liberty—of the "free institutions" of which we hear so much at election time—you will help strike a blow not only at the Caesars, and the Napoleons, but at the Vandals which are their cause and their excuse for exercising power. The Guild appeals to you. What is your answer?

APPENDIX

WHAT GOVERNOR LA FOLLETTE SAYS.

(From Chicago Chronicle, July 19, 1903.)

CHAUTAUQUA, N. Y., July 18.—Governor Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, delivered an address at the Chautauqua assembly this afternoon on "Representative Government." He cited examples and made comparisons to show that the kind of representative government contemplated by the founders of the United States government is not present in America today because of the aggressions of the railroads, trusts and gigantic corporations. He laid particular emphasis on the declaration that the people are still sovereign and might, if they chose, wrest back the authority of government and become as powerful as the framers of the republic intended they should be.

"The basic principle of this government is the will of the people," began Governor La Follette. "Its founders devised a system which seemed to assure the means of ascertaining that will, of enacting it into legislation and enforcing it through administration of the law. It was to be accomplished by electing men to make and execute the laws. This was the establishment of a representative government where every man had equal voice, equal rights and equal responsibilities.

"Have we such a government today or are we rapidly coming to be dominated by forces in making and enacting our laws which thwart the will of the people and menace the very life of representative government? No man questioned it for a hundred years. Whoever asserts it now is denounced as a 'menace to industrial progress.'"

TRUSTS WORSE THAN KING GEORGE.

Governor La Follette quoted from Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, Webster and Lincoln to show that the fathers of the country regarded the people as the source of power. He continued as follows:

"One of the causes of revolution proclaimed in the declaration of independence was: 'Imposing taxes on us without our consent.' Today great aggregations of corporate wealth buy immunity from taxation in our legislatures and throw the burden which they should bear upon the individual taxpayer of every municipality and state. Betrayed by his representative, the individual taxpayer is overtaxed for the benefit of the corporation.

"Taxation without representation is as much a crime against just and equal government in 1903 as it was in 1776. Government by corporations is as destructive of the liberties of the people of this country as the exercise of the same power by a foreign monarch.

"The arbitrary control of the price of coal and iron and corn and wheat and beef, whether by an extortionate transportation rate or by a monster combination, is a more absolute tyranny of the American people than quartering the army of King George upon the American colonists without their consent.

"Let us see if the time be not ripe for a new declaration of American independence. We are building up colossal fortunes, granting unlimited power to corporate organization and consolidating and massing together business interests as never before in the commercial history of the world, but the people are losing control of their own government. Its foundations are being sapped and its integrity destroyed.

"The gravest danger menacing republican institutions today is the overbalancing control of city, state and national legislatures by the wealth and power of public service corporations. The national government, every state government, every city government has its problem to solve—not at some other time, but now."

PREVENT LEGISLATURES CURBING THEM.

The Governor elaborated on the control of business by railroad corporations and said the problem which that control presented should be solved "not in any spirit of blind, irrational prejudice, but with an enlightened public policy that uses all power lodged in the government against wrongful usurpation of inherent right." He added:

"Why has this not been done? Why does all effort directed to this end fall upon deaf legislative ears? I would not be misunderstood as charging general individual corruption. There are thousands of honest, fearless men in public life throughout this country. Every executive wanting in honesty or courage, every legislator who is weak or corrupt, is sure to be controlled by the lobby agents of the great corporations. Occasionally by straight, simple bribe, more often by insidious indirect means, they are ensnared and captured by alluring deals and promises of political preferment or frightened and intimidated by threats to ruin them in business and bring about political annihilation.

"It is the close association of political and corporate power that defrauds the public of its rights, defeats legislation for the general good and passes laws to promote private interests.

CITES EVIDENCE OF BRIBERY.

"The New York legislative investigation of the Erie railway reported that more than \$1,000,000 was spent in one year for 'extra legal services'—that money paid to political bosses was charged to the 'India rubber account.'

"More recently the treasurer of the New York Central testified that his company paid out for legislation in one year \$60,000, and in another \$205,000."

Governor La Follette quoted freely from correspondence between the late C. P. Huntington and General Colton in regard to the payment of money for the passage of legislative measures and for the control of congressmen. In one of the letters from Mr. Huntington he used the following language:

"It is very important that his friends in Washington should be with us, and if that should be brought about by paying Carr say \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, I think we could afford to do it, but of course not until he had controlled his friends."

The Governor reviewed the interstate commerce act, showing that its purpose is to prevent discrimination in railroad rates on commerce between the states and to secure just and reasonable rates. He quoted from the reports of the commission to show the appeals which it made to congress to remedy the defects in the law and to strengthen its powers. Continuing he said:

"If there were no further evidences of the power of the railroads in legislation than that which is afforded by the statements from the record of the interstate commerce commission it ought to arouse the entire country to such action as will bring congress to a sense of its responsibility to the people for some measure of justice and fair play."

RULE CONGRESS DESPITE PRESIDENT.

The Governor said that congress was indifferent to President Roosevelt's recommendation and that while at the last session a slight concession was made in the form of a bill applying to preferential rates, the one thing needful to protect the public against unreasonable transportation charges, "the power to fix reasonable rates for the future was denied and not allowed to pass." "And," he continued, "the railway companies have secured the defeat of this legislation in congress. Their influence has been more powerful than that of the people; their wishes and their whispered directions have been more potent than the outspoken and oft-repeated demands of their constituents, the recommendations of the commission or even those of the president of the United States."

Governor La Follette read a letter bearing on the action of the last congress, which was written to him by a United States senator under date of Feb. 9, 1903, in which the following language was used:

"It is expecting too much from human nature that senators, whose every association is with the great railroad corporations, and whose political lives largely depend on them, should, in good faith, approve a measure that would to an extent make the railroads a servant of the people and to be subject to the decision of the commission when a question of rates is raised. The senate committee is by a decided majority composed of men who bear those relations to the railroads."

"How clearly this discloses the naked truth," continued Governor

La Follette, "how startling, how abhorrent. The United States senate in close association with the great railroads and corporations. Yet we cannot reject the testimony offered. It must be bravely met. How to make this august body serve the people instead of corporate power—not 100 years from now—but right soon, is the part of the problem I shall discuss in speaking of the remedy for the evils considered.

"The railroad prefers to deal with large shippers and it squeezes out the small ones. It encourages centralization in business. It creates and nourishes monopoly. Every great trust and combination in this country is either the direct offspring or foster child of the railroad."

TRACES THE FORMATION OF TRUSTS.

Governor La Follette then gave a resume of the history of the anthracite coal monopoly, showing how the anthracite fields came into the hands of the railway companies and that these companies have an absolute control of the supply of anthracite. He said that by increasing freight rates in the first place and by refusing to carry coal for private owners at any price they brought all private owners in the Pennsylvania fields to their terms. These roads did this, he said, in defiance of the constitution of Pennsylvania. He traced the formation of the soft coal monopoly in Missouri and other western states, and said:

"Thus within a few years the railroad companies have conceived and executed plans which will enable a few corporations acting in combination to control the power that moves the wheels of industry and the entire fuel supply of the people of this country.

"The plan developed and consummated in building up the Standard Oil monopoly, the anthracite coal trust, the elevator combination and the beef trust are indicative of the power of the railroads in combination. There is not an important trust in the United States which does not have the assistance of the railroads in destroying its competitors in business.

"The limitation and control of these public service corporations in their legitimate field as common carriers is of primary importance in the practical solution of the trust problem which confronts the people of this country. It is manifest that any trust legislation to be effective must go hand in hand with a control over railway rates by the federal government on interstate commerce through an enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission and a like control of railroad rates on state commerce by each of the states through a state railway commission. Added to this, the railroad companies must be prohibited from using the extraordinary powers conferred on them by the state for any other purpose than in conducting the transportation business for which they were organized."

SAYS ROADS EVADE TAXES.

Governor La Follette then took up the discussion of the influence of the public service corporations in state and municipal legislation. He graphically and at some length described how by a combination of the old political machine and the railroad lobby all efforts to make the railroads pay their equal portion of the taxes in Wisconsin and to secure a direct primary for the nomination of all candidates for office by a vote of the people had been successfully resisted since 1898. He told how a direct primary bill with a referendum proviso and a bill for the equalization of the taxes of the railroads were passed through the legislature of 1903, but how the railroads succeeded in defeating a bill to establish a railway commission for the control of freight rates and a bill to prohibit the raising of the present rates. He had hopes, however, of succeeding along this line in future.

MORE PROOF OF BOODLING.

The Governor paid a tribute to President Roosevelt, District Attorney Jerome, of New York, and District Attorney Folk, of St. Louis, and cited the failure of Addicks to buy a United States senatorship and the conviction of the mayor of Minneapolis, the driving out of the boodlers of Baltimore as striking examples of

victories which had been won by a single supreme effort to arouse public sentiment. He went on:

"The existence of this wicked alliance between the machine and the corporations and the lust for money and power out of which it was born, was never more brazenly confessed to the world than in the recent interview by Charles R. Brayton, machine boss of Rhode Island, the principal lobbyist for leading public service corporations of that state. He said:

"I am an attorney for certain clients and I look for their interests before the legislature. I am retained annually by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railway Company, as every one knows. I act for the Rhode Island Company (street car interests), and I have been retained in certain cases by the Providence Telephone Company. In addition to this I have had connections, not permanent, with various companies desiring franchises, charters and things of that sort from the legislature. I never solicit any business. It comes to me unsought. You see, in managing the campaign year after year I am in a position to be of service to men all over the state. I help them to get elected, and, naturally, many warm friendships result; then, when they are in a position to repay me they are glad to do it."

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Preamble.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Legislative powers.

Section I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.

Section II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications of Representatives.

2. No person shall be Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment of Representatives.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3

Vacancies.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Senate.

Section III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Classification of Senators.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of Senators.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

Other Officers.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Senate to Try Impeachments.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment Upon Conviction.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Elections.

Section IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

Meeting of Congress.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Organization of Congress.

Section V. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Rule of Proceedings.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

Journals of Each House.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from

time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment of Congress.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Compensation and Privileges.

Section VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Other Offices Prohibited.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Revenue Bills.

Section VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Bills and Laws.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

Approval and Veto Powers of the President.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

POWERS VESTED IN CONGRESS.

Section VIII. 1. The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dry-docks, and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers, vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Immigrants, How Admitted.

Section IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Habeas Corpus.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Attainder.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

Direct Taxes.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

Regulations Regarding Customs Duties.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Moneys, How Drawn.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published from time to time.

Titles of Nobility Prohibited.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Powers of States Defined.

Section X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Executive Power, in Whom Vested.

Section I. 1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Electors.

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors.

Proceedings of House of Representatives.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President: and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]*

Time of choosing electors.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of the President.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of

*This clause is superseded by Article XII, Amendments.

thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Provision for Disability.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Salary.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Duties.

Section II. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

May Make Treaties, Appoint Officials, etc.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

May Fill Vacancies.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

May Convene Congress and Make Recommendations.

Section III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

May Be Impeached.

Section IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Judicial Power.

Section I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges,

both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

To What Cases it Extends.

Section II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Rules Respecting Trials.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Treason Defined.

Section III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

How Punished.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

Rights of States.

Section I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Privileges of Citizens.

Section II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Executive Requisitions.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Laws Regulating Labor.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

New States, How Admitted.

Section III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by

the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

Disposal of Public Lands.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Republican Government Guaranteed.

Section IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Constitution, How Amended.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article: and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Certain Debts Valid.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

Supreme Law Defined.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Oath; of Whom Required.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification of Constitution.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

(Declared in Force December 15, 1791.)

ARTICLE I.

Religion and Free Speech.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

Right to Bear Arms.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

Soldiers in Time of Peace.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

Right of Search.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

Arrest for Capital Crimes.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger: nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

Right to Speedy Trial.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

Trial by Jury.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive Bail.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

Constitutional Rights.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

Rights of States.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

(Declared in Force January 8, 1798.)

Judicial Power.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

(Ratified by all States with the exception of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Declared in Force September 28, 1804.)- h

Method of Choosing President.

Vice-President.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of a choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

(Ratified by 31 of the 36 States; rejected by Delaware and Kentucky; conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi; Texas refrained from taking action. Proclaimed December 18, 1865.)

Slavery Abolished.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

(Ratified by 23 Northern States; rejected by Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and 10 Southern States; California refrained from taking action. The amendment was subsequently ratified by the Southern States and was proclaimed July 28, 1868.)

Citizenship.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and

subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representation.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of voters in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Rebellion Against the United States.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Public Debt.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

Right of Suffrage.

(Ratified by 30 States; rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and Oregon; Tennessee refrained from taking action. On January 5, 1870, New York rescinded its ratification. Proclaimed March 30, 1870.)

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The thirteen original States ratified the Constitution in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787, unanimously; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, by vote of 46 to 23; New Jersey, December 18, 1787, unanimously; Georgia, January 2, 1788, unanimously; Connecticut, January 9, 1788, by vote of 128 to 40; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, by vote of 187 to 168; Maryland, April 28, 1788, by vote of 63 to 12; South Carolina, May 23, 1788, by vote of 149 to 73; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, by vote of 57 to 46; Virginia, June 25, 1788, by vote of 89 to 79; New York, July 26, 1788, by vote of 30 to 28; North Carolina, November 21, 1789, by vote of 193 to 75; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, by vote of 34 to 32.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasion on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States: for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule in these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our immigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that

as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

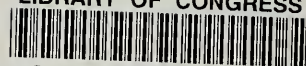
Georgia—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton. North Carolina—Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn. South Carolina—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton. Maryland—Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Virginia—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thos. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. Pennsylvania—Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross. Delaware—Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read. New York—Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Fran's Lewis, Lewis Morris. New Jersey—Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fra's Hopkins, John Hart, Abra. Clark. Massachusetts Bay—Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry. New Hampshire—Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton. Rhode Island and Providence, etc.—Step. Hopkins, William Ellery. Connecticut—Roger Sherman, Saml. Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

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